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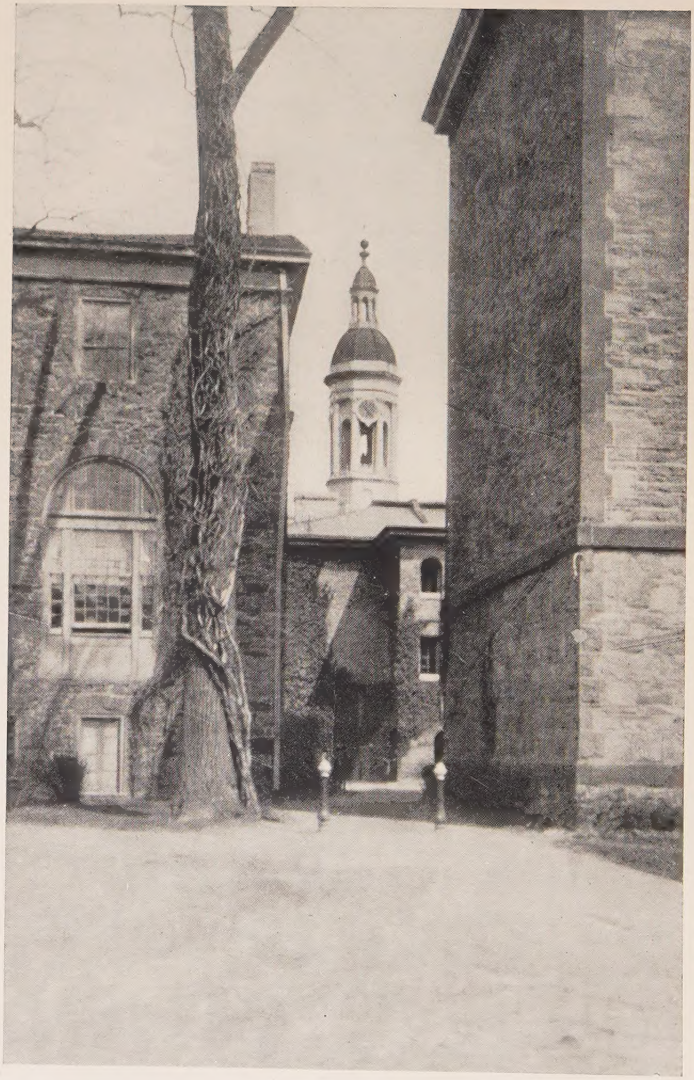

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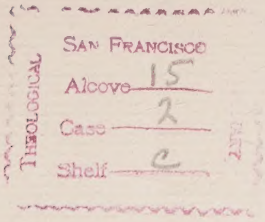
PRINCETON

BY

VARNUM LANSING COLLINS



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PREFACE

THE history of Princeton from the founding in 1746 to the inauguration of Dr. John Maclean as president has been related by Dr. Maclean in his "History of the College of New Jersey" (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1877), a narrative based almost exclusively on the minutes of the board of trustees. For the sesquicentennial celebration of the founding, Dr. John DeWitt, of Princeton Theological Seminary, prepared an extended survey in three parts—"The Planting of Princeton College," "Princeton College Administrations in the Eighteenth Century," and "Princeton College Administrations in the Nineteenth Century"—which was published first in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for April, July, and October, 1897, and reprinted in the "Memorial Book of the Sesquicentennial Celebration." Dr. Ashbel Green's hundred-page "Historical Sketch of the Origin of the College of New Jersey [with] an Account of the Administrations of its first five Presidents," published as a note in his "Discourses" (Philadelphia, 1822), closes with the inauguration of President Witherspoon in 1768. Briefer sketches are W. A. Dod's "History of the College of New Jersey" (Princeton, 1844), a pamphlet of fifty pages covering the period from 1746 to 1783, and Robert Edgar's "Historical Sketch of the College of New Jersey" (Philadelphia, 1859), a pamphlet of sixty-six pages, covering the period from 1746 to 1855.

In the present history, the point of view adopted will be found to be somewhat different from that of its

predecessors. While of course the aims and the evolution of the College have been considered afresh, at the same time a special effort has been made to appreciate the characteristics of the life and atmosphere of the place and the variety and color in its history. To the latter end not only has free use been made of the archives and early official documents of the University, many of them for the first time, but the Princeton manuscripts in the University library, such as the Pyne-Henry papers and the large collection of Princetoniana gathered by Colonel William Libbey and now forming a part of the Princeton Collection in the library, have been extensively used. Besides the unpublished reminiscences and diaries in the Princeton Collection, such as the Strawbridge, Shippen, Duffield, Talmage, and Buhler documents and the Scharff-Henry manuscript account of "College as It is," the anonymous eighteenth-century student diary preserved among the manuscripts of the Library of Congress has been of particular value. A similar body of material, for the loan of which acknowledgments are due to Miss Garnett, of Hoboken, New Jersey, is a file of the college letters of James M. Garnett, an early nineteenth-century undergraduate, of which fuller use would have been made had the documents come to light before the body of the book was completed. Printed sources are indicated in the footnotes.

The writer is under deep obligations to Dr. DeWitt for repeated and invaluable consultations especially on the earlier portions of the volume which have profited greatly by his criticism and knowledge, and to the Hon. Bayard Henry, of Philadelphia, for the benefit of his long and close study of the relation of the Log College to the College of New Jersey. The statement of the exact con-

nection between the two institutions, as will be seen, remains, in the opinion of the writer at least, still somewhat short of conclusiveness. Thanks are also due to Dean Andrew F. West for helpful criticism of the chapter on the history of the curriculum with which he is so familiar; to Mr. Ralph Adams Cram, of the firm of Cram and Ferguson, for kindly providing several photographs of the Graduate College for reproduction; and finally to the editor of this series of college histories, Professor George Philip Krapp, of Columbia University, for his unfailing patience and numerous useful suggestions.

It is hoped that this book may not only serve to give a clearer impression of Princeton to readers whom no tie binds to the University, but that in its pages Princetonians themselves, who have lived their little while here, may find a portrayal, which shall not seem to them too inadequate, of their alma mater's history, her moods, and her endeavors.

V. L. C.

PRINCETON, *April*, 1914.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	PREFACE	v-vii
I	THE FOUNDING OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY	1
II	THE COLONIAL PERIOD	31
III	THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD	66
IV	PRINCETON BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR	100
V	A CENTURY OF COLLEGE LIFE	165
VI	THE TRANSITION PERIOD	221
VII	THE UNIVERSITY	251
VIII	HISTORY OF THE CURRICULUM AND ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS	291
IX	BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT	332
X	THE COLLEGE SEASONS	368

APPENDIX:

I	CHARTER OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY	399
II	STUDENT GEOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION, 1805-1913	408
III	ALUMNI GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION, 1914	409
IV	INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF AND STUDENT ENROLMENT, 1868-1913	410
V	ENDOWMENT, 1869-1914	410
VI	FINANCIAL SUMMARY, YEAR ENDING JULY 31, 1913	411

INDEX 413

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Belfry of Nassau Hall . . . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

Nassau Hall and President's (now the Dean's) House 39
Dawkins' Engraving

Letter of Faculty to President of Congress . . 85

Nassau Hall and Dean's (formerly the President's) House 125

The Halls 165

Holder Hall and Tower 205

McCosh Walk and President McCosh . . . 249

University Library and Back Campus . . . 263

Graduate College and Cleveland Tower . . . 285

Procter Hall 325

The Steps 377

I

THE FOUNDING OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY

The Call for Higher Education in the Middle Colonies. The Log College. The Great Schism. Governor Hamilton and the Charter of 1746. The College of New Jersey and President Dickinson. Governor Belcher and the Charter of 1748.

THE history of Princeton University falls naturally into four periods, each possessing distinctive characteristics.

The Colonial Period, from 1746 to 1768, covers the founding of the College of New Jersey (the official title of Princeton University until 1896), the ten years of temporary location at Elizabeth and Newark, and the establishment in a permanent home at Princeton. It includes the administrations of Presidents Dickinson, Burr, Edwards, Davies, and Finley—a period of feeble beginnings, but clearly defined hopes and purposes.

The next period, from 1768 to 1794, which for convenience may be called the Revolutionary Period, is spanned by one administration, that of President Witherspoon, beginning with a term of vigorous growth and marked prosperity which was suddenly brought to a close and nullified by the War of the Revolution, and was followed by a decade of desperate effort at rehabilitation. During this period the College, in spite of material ill-fortune, acquired national reputation through the superb vigor of its president and the eagerness with which its graduates came to the front in manifold opportunities for public leadership.

Reaction ensued and the College slowly sank back from its position of prominence, reaching the verge of dissolution, a fate from which it was saved only by the devotion of one man. This was John Maclean. He so nursed the flickering vitality of the institution that when at length he became president the College was once more in a position of respectability, and at the outbreak of the Civil War in better condition than ever before. This stretch of seventy-odd years, which may be roughly called the ante-bellum period, comprises the administrations of Presidents Smith, Green, Carnahan, and Maclean.

The new era that dawned with the close of the Civil War brought to the College a new president and new forces; and under Dr. McCosh's far-sighted direction was passed the Transition Period, lasting twenty years, 1868-1888, during which Princeton was transformed from a small and average college into a potential university.

The administration of President McCosh opened the way to the Modern Period, from 1888 to the present time, when the College of New Jersey became Princeton University, and under the administrations of Presidents Patton and Wilson began to assume an individual position among American institutions of learning.

The founding of the College of New Jersey was coincident with a bitter dissension in the American Presbyterian Church, a dissension of which the College was in some part a result, and which noticeably shaped from the very beginning the course of the history that the following pages are to tell.

In the language of the earliest official account of the College, published with the imprimatur of the board of

trustees in 1752, six years after the founding, it owed its existence to the zeal of " several Gentlemen residing in and near the Province of New Jersey who were well-Wishers to the Felicity of their Country, & real Friends of Religion and Learning, and who had observed the vast Increase of these (the Middle) Colonies, with the Rudeness, and Ignorance of their inhabitants for want of the necessary Means of Improvement. . . ." [1]

Whether or not the conditions in the colonies south of New England were as benighted as this view implies is not of immediate concern. It need be remembered only that the College of New Jersey owed its inception to a little group of Presbyterian ministers and laymen belonging to the Synod of New York, who had long felt not only the opportunity but the actual necessity of maintaining an institution of higher learning in the Middle Colonies, within reasonable reach of their people, and especially upholding satisfactory standards.

From one point of view, but from one only, it was a plain case of clerical supply and demand. Population was increasing rapidly; the colonial provision of spiritual oversight was unable to meet current needs; Harvard and Yale were uncomfortably far away, even had reports of their philosophical tendencies at the time been entirely satisfactory to exacting Calvinistic minds dwelling within New York and Philadelphia spheres of religious influence. William and Mary in Virginia was in both respects out of the question, and there were no other colleges in North America. Obviously, therefore, the training of the new generation of ministers rested either with European universities or with the

[1] " General Account of the Rise and State of the College lately established in the Province of New Jersey in America." New York, 1752.

American church itself. But Europe was absolutely beyond the means of the vast majority of pious parents, who though pious were usually poor; and the conclusion was inevitable that an additional institution of higher learning, where candidates for the ministry might find adequate training, must be erected in the Middle Colonies.

But clerical supply and demand was not the only point of view. There remained the larger question of general higher education. A few thoughtful leaders of social life, principally clergymen, confessed to the conviction, perhaps more often felt than openly expressed, that the support of a college within their borders was not only possible because of the demand for an educated ministry, but that from a broader aspect it was a patriotic necessity. The inrush of settlers and the consequent heterogeneity of society in the Middle Colonies, together with the total lack of convenient provision for their educational improvement, seemed to demand some unifying intellectual center, just as the Presbyterian Church, in that part of the country at least, was supplying a unifying religious center. It was one expression of their growing Americanism, a sense of their growing strength, a prevision of their coming nationalism; and these men saw in higher education the hope of the new social unification. The college they had indefinitely in mind was not to be a college merely for a single locality or a single province, but was to be planned for the newer sections of the country as well as for the old. Moreover, it was to be a fountain of strength to prepare their sons for a common existence and a common struggle; education meant to them not scholarship but preparation for facing successfully the colonial life that was each year growing more and more abundant and full of possibility.

While these ideas were loosely drifting in the air, efforts had not been wanting to supply ministerial candidates with the means of higher education. Clergymen here and there, graduates of British universities or of Harvard or Yale, with strength enough to take on additional labor beside their unceasing pastoral cares, were already privately instructing likely young men in the classics and in divinity, and some of these private efforts were crystallizing into schools soon to acquire some reputation. For instance, a Yale graduate, the Reverend Jonathan Dickinson, pastor of the church at Elizabeth Town in New Jersey, was already conducting classes, or directing the private reading of a few students looking forward to the ministry; and later, his colleague at Newark, New Jersey, the Reverend Aaron Burr, also a Yale man and bringing to his first charge all the buoyancy of youth and the enthusiasm of earnest convictions, was to hold similar guidance over a handful of his young parishioners. More famous schools were soon to grow up under the Reverend Samuel Blair at Faggs Manor, Pennsylvania, and the Reverend Samuel Finley at Nottingham in Maryland. The history of these schools is fragmentary and elusive; but it seems certain that they were antedated in establishment and eclipsed in reputation by a remarkable institution, organized at the Forks of the Neshaminy in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, by the Reverend William Tennent, to which, on its removal to land given him on the York road near Hartsville in the same county, the name "Log College" was scoffingly given.[1]

While others had talked and dreamed, Mr. Tennent

[1] For its history see Archibald Alexander, "Biographical Sketches of the Founder and Principal Alumni of the Log College," Princeton, 1845; 2d ed., Philadelphia, 1851.

had gone ahead and in a small but vigorous way had endeavored to meet the demand of the times. Formerly a priest of the Established Church of Ireland, he had renounced its claims and with his four sons had emigrated to America, where in 1718 he was admitted as a Presbyterian to the Synod of Philadelphia, at that time the only synod in America. Of his piety, his zeal, his classical education, there never was any doubt. Settled as pastor at Neshaminy about 1727, he had commenced his school as a purely private affair, his own sons being probably his first pupils. The log cabin, which was in a few years to give a contemptuous name to the institution, was erected as his numbers increased. Having no charter, he conferred no degrees; but he succeeded in supplying to candidates for the ministry some measure of the liberal education which he himself had so eagerly absorbed at the University of Edinburgh, and with this education he also imparted to his students much of his own earnestness and religious enthusiasm. It is conceded that the early American Presbyterian Church owes an enormous debt to Mr. Tennent not only for the men to whom he gave their only theological training, but for the fact that "he convinced the Presbyterians of the Middle Colonies that they need not and ought not wait upon Great Britain and New England for an educated ministry."[1]

But the more far-sighted spirits of the Synod of Philadelphia, though indorsing the work of the Log College, nevertheless plainly recognized its inadequacies. At best it was a makeshift; it had no academic standing, no permanent organization; it was a one-man affair; it was not a genuine college. And more with a view

[1] John DeWitt, "Planting of Princeton College," *Presb. and Ref. Rev.*, April, 1897, p. 183.

to preserve educational standards—a task which the upspringing of similar unchartered and irresponsible institutions would make increasingly difficult,—than with any intention to belittle Mr. Tennent's labors, the Synod in 1738 laid down a notable landmark in the history of American education by passing a rule that hereafter no candidate for orders who did not hold a degree from Harvard, or Yale, or a European university, should be licensed by a presbytery, until his educational fitness had been passed on by a committee of the Synod.

The Log College representatives in the Synod protested; they considered the measure a blow directly aimed at their institution; and they were not mistaken in believing that it would injure their work. Loyalty to the record of their own school made it well-nigh impossible for them to acquiesce in a move which under other circumstances they would have supported. For, the Synod's rule of 1738 was admittedly a first step toward raising educational standards, a step forced upon the Synod by a group of thoughtful leaders who cherished a wider purpose for American education than only the training of ministers, and toward this wider view the Log College men would have been in general sympathetic, provided it did not mean the sudden sacrifice of their own established enterprise.

The next step was not long in being reached, and in 1739 a cautious overture was brought in and unanimously approved by the Synod for founding a "school or seminary of learning" wherein candidates for the colonial ministry might be adequately trained for the ever-widening field that lay before the American church. A committee of the Synod was appointed to accomplish the plan and it was decided that two of the four men

named should go to Europe and solicit aid for the project. On this committee were two of the promoters of the scheme, the Reverend Ebenezer Pemberton of New York City and the Reverend Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabeth Town. An enthusiastic supporter was found in the Reverend Aaron Burr of Newark. There is little doubt that these men had in mind even then a larger view of the proposal than appeared in its terms: namely, not merely the ministerial supply of the colonies, but the establishment of a college ultimately to rank with any in America or Great Britain.[1] How they would have gone about the difficult task of developing their dream from the synodical institution described in the overture, would be a pleasant speculation. But war broke out between England and Spain; and in this juncture the trip to Europe was more than ever dangerous and seemed utterly hopeless of success. The whole plan was therefore laid over, and before anything further was done about it the Synod was torn asunder by the dissension which effectually prevented further concerted action.

There had been growing up in the Synod of Philadelphia two well-defined parties. One, the "New Side," while believing in proper educational requirements, nevertheless laid more weight than their opponents on the conscious religious experience of ministerial candidates and on what might be called the emotional style of

[1] This view was first clearly brought out by Dr. DeWitt in his "Planting of Princeton College." It is implied in the "General Account" of 1752, and in subsequent official statements. Even President Ashbel Green, under whose administrative influence the broader purpose of the College shrank into the narrower, is emphatic in his "Notes" that the College was not founded to be an institution of which the chief object was to "form youth for the gospel ministry." Cf. his "Discourses . . . with Notes and Illustrations including an Historical Sketch of the College," Philadelphia, 1822, p. 292.

preaching. It was this section of the church which later welcomed to its arms the fiery Whitefield. Its leaders were to be found in the group who backed the Log College, and whose loudest exponent was Mr. Tennent's hot-headed son Gilbert. Its members belonged, for the most part, to the Presbytery of New Brunswick, embracing the churches between East Jersey and Philadelphia, and the Presbytery of New Castle, embracing the churches in southern Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland.

Opposed to them in ecclesiastical ideals and pastoral methods rather than in true religious spirit and in the demand for higher standards of educational fitness for the ministry, was the "Old Side" party, comprising the majority of the Synod and having its stronghold in the Presbytery of Philadelphia. These men clung to the indefinable dignity of the church and did not look with favor upon the more emotional forms of preaching and of religious experience.

Between the two stood the Presbytery of New York, containing men of rather finer and more delicate appreciations perhaps than either of the other parties, men like Dickinson, Pemberton, Pierson, and Burr, the leaders of the movement looking toward the founding of a high-class college.

The Synod's rule of 1738 brought the inevitable clash in 1739, when it was discovered that the Presbytery of New Brunswick, in total disregard of the rule, had, during the last year, licensed John Rowland, a Log College graduate. The Synod promptly ordered him to submit to examination before their body and characterized the conduct of the Presbytery in licensing him as "very disorderly," and admonished it not to repeat such "divisive courses." This action did not tend to soothe the New Brunswick men, and least of all did it quiet the

turbulent soul of Gilbert Tennent. To add fuel to the smoldering fire, in November of that year (1739) the Reverend George Whitefield began his remarkable revivalistic tours through the colonies. The Tennent party promptly adopted him as one of their own, and it is in his diary, as all the world knows, that the best contemporary account of the Log College is found.

With this tremendous and inspired accession to their forces the members of the Presbytery of New Brunswick persisted to such a degree in the objectionable features of their methods and in their protest against the Synod's examining rule that this body felt called upon to remonstrate. Remonstrance, however, had no effect, and at last in 1741 at the annual meeting of the Synod it was somewhat summarily resolved that the recalcitrant presbytery had forfeited its right to sit in the Synod; and being thus practically read out of that body, its members indignantly withdrew from the meeting.

The New York Presbytery for some unknown reason had been absent, but its members at once endeavored to adjust the quarrel. Failing after repeated effort, and feeling that the Synod of Philadelphia had not acted fairly toward the New Brunswick group, in 1745 it also withdrew as a protest, and in the autumn of that year at Elizabeth Town formed with the Presbytery of New Brunswick and the Presbytery of New Castle the Synod of New York.

During this regrettable squabble, whose result is known in the annals of American Presbyterianism as the Great Schism, those members of the Presbytery of New York who had headed the educational project of 1739 had not lost sight of their scheme. But the situation had changed. They could no longer look for help from their former colleagues in the Synod of Phila-

delphia. That they sought any from the Log College men is not definitely known, although it will be seen that there is strong circumstantial evidence of such action. In any case, it is clear from the terms of the charter which they subsequently drafted that the college they were at this time hoping to erect was to be free of ecclesiastical control and placed on a totally undenominational basis. In other words, it was to be a national college. Late in 1745 or early in 1746 they boldly applied to Governor Morris of New Jersey for a charter. A zealous Anglican and a strict observer of the precedents and commissions of his office, the governor refused to give these Presbyterians their desire, and it seemed as if the plan were blocked at its opening stage. But the governor died in May, 1746, and was succeeded in the temporary administration of the province by the president of the provincial council, John Hamilton. Acting Governor Hamilton was also an Anglican and a loyal servant of the Crown; and he was quite as familiar with gubernatorial prerogatives as Governor Morris. But his ripe age and long experience had mellowed his attitude toward men of other churches than his own, and regardless of the ecclesiastical interests that might be concerned he was heartily in sympathy with the general cause of religion and of higher education. When the petitioners repeated their effort and laid before him a draft of the charter for a college in New Jersey, although he had no precedents save negative ones to guide him, and although he had sought neither the fiat of the provincial legislature nor the special permission of the home government, he placed the matter before his council and, gaining the latter's assent, granted his petitioners' request. On October 22, 1746, the first charter of the "College of New Jersey"

passed the seal of the Province. As Dr. DeWitt has said:

"The name of John Hamilton should be given a conspicuous place in any list of the founders of Princeton University. He granted the first charter; he granted it against the precedent made by the governor whom he succeeded in the executive chair; and he granted it with alacrity, certainly without vexatious delay. What is more remarkable, at a time when Episcopalian governors were ill-disposed to grant to Presbyterians ecclesiastical or educational franchises, he—an Episcopalian—gave this charter to a board of trust composed wholly of members of the Presbyterian Church. Though the son of a governor, and acting as a royal governor, he made no demand that the government be given a substantive part in its administration; and, though granting the franchise as governor of a single province, he gave it to a board of trustees in which four provinces were represented. For the times in which he lived, his conduct evinces exceptional large-mindedness."[1]

The grant of this charter is recorded in Book C of the Commissions and Charters now preserved in the office of the Secretary of the State of New Jersey, but an official copy was never placed in the files of the province, nor has any complete version of its text survived. The probable explanation of the failure to record the instrument is easy to suggest. The charter was unprecedented and objection to it was immediately raised in Anglican circles; undoubtedly for this reason there was hesitancy to publish its full terms and so ease the way to further Anglican attack, and before a final decision to this question was reached Governor Hamilton died (June, 1747). Then it turned out that Governor Morris's formal successor, Jonathan Belcher, had al-

[1] "Planting of Princeton College," *Presb. & Ref. Rev.*, April, 1897, p. 189.

ready been appointed (July, 1746) when Hamilton granted the charter. Mr. Belcher had not been able immediately to qualify as governor because of inability to scrape together enough funds to pay his fees in London and buy a passage to America; but the fact of his appointment prior to the granting of the charter might in certain quarters have cast further doubt on the propriety, not to say the legality, of the Hamilton grant. When Governor Belcher arrived in August, 1747, and showed that he not only favored the project of a college but was eager to give the incorporators a better charter than Hamilton's, it was thought no longer necessary to record the earlier instrument, and the formality was never carried out.[1]

Although no complete text of the charter of 1746 is known, nevertheless there are in contemporary newspapers at least two separate and important announcements concerning the grant. One, published in the *New York Gazette* for February 2, 1747, was a statement that a charter " with full and ample privileges " for founding a college had been granted on October 22, 1746, to the Reverends Jonathan Dickinson, John Pierson, Ebenezer Pemberton, and Aaron Burr, " and some other Gentlemen, as Trustees of the said College." The statement further gave notice that the college was to be opened in May, 1747. The other document, published simultaneously in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for August 13, 1747, and repeated in the *Gazette* for August 17 and September 10, and in the *Journal* for August 27, 1747, was an official and extended summary of the charter's provisions, together with a list of twelve trustees, the name of the president, and an an-

[1] Incidentally, Belcher's charter was not recorded until two years after it had passed the provincial seal.

nouncement that the college was actually open. The document bears internal evidence that the writer either had a copy of the charter before him or was thoroughly acquainted with its language.

According to this summary, the charter named seven trustees,—three laymen, William Smith, William Peartree Smith, and Peter Van Brugh Livingston, and four ministers, Jonathan Dickinson, John Pierson, Ebenezer Pemberton, and Aaron Burr, " with full powers to any four or more of them, to chuse five more trustees, to the exercise of equal power and authority in the said college with themselves." If these words imply, as they seem to do, that the original seven trustees were given power, but were not required, to elect associates, the charter was by reason of this permissive clause only the more unusual. If, on the other hand, it is to be presumed that twelve was the intended number of trustees, the delegation of power to a part of the twelve to name the rest was further evidence of the generous catholicity of Governor Hamilton's attitude.

With the names of Dickinson, Burr, and Pemberton we are already familiar. John Pierson was pastor of the church at Woodbridge, New Jersey; William Smith was a New Yorker and one of the most distinguished lawyers of the time; William Peartree Smith, then of New York and later of Elizabeth Town, was a man of leisure and wealth and given to good works; Livingston was a New York merchant and likewise well known as a man of public spirit. All of the seven except Pemberton were Yale graduates. Pemberton was educated at Harvard.

We may presume that these seven gentlemen chose their fellow-trustees before they proceeded to elect a president. Between February 2, 1747, then, the date of the *New York Gazette's* notice of the charter, and

April 20, 1747, when the same paper announced Mr. Dickinson's appointment to the presidency, they selected as their colleagues the Reverends Gilbert Tennent, William Tennent, Samuel Blair, Samuel Finley, and Richard Treat. The written but undated consent to these elections signed by the four New York trustees, being a majority of the original seven, is preserved in the library of Princeton University.

The significant fact about the five new men is that with but one exception—the Yale graduate, Richard Treat,—they were all educated at the Log College and with Treat, who lived at Abington not far from the Log College and was in close touch with it, were all earnest supporters of that institution. The presence of the charter's permissive clause as to the enlargement of the board could scarcely have been accidental; and, when the circumstances are considered, its insertion in the charter and the promptness with which the incorporators elected the Log College group at least suggest, if not plainly indicate, the existence of some sort of understanding or prearrangement. In brief the circumstances were these. Gilbert Tennent and his friends had been frankly opposed to any educational plan which would militate against the Log College; but by the end of 1745 or the beginning of 1746 the Log College was undoubtedly approaching dissolution. Mr. Tennent, senior, had resigned his pastorate in 1743 on account of advancing age, and it is likely that his school was already suffering from the effect of his growing feebleness. At any rate, on his death early in May, 1746, it ceased to exist. The approach of this event and the long-standing interest of Dickinson and his friends in the creation of a genuine college, render it very probable that the founding of a new and better organized institution had already been dis-

cussed with the Tennents, and an agreement reached looking toward an eventual union of forces in support of the proposed new enterprise. Provision for this union would appear to have been made in the permissive clause of the charter. If this agreement existed the Log College men might properly have been named with the original incorporators. Their absence from the list is to be explained on the hypothesis that, owing to the antagonism prevailing toward them in certain quarters, it was more prudent to omit their names than to jeopardize the success of the whole scheme by announcing their support of the proposed college before its charter was even assured. Documentary evidence of an agreement such as the one suggested has not as yet been discovered, but should it ever come to light the existence of a far more intimate relationship between the Log College and the College of New Jersey than that which can at present be proved would at once become an established fact.

After their election to the board there were no more earnest workers for the College of New Jersey than the Log College men and their pupils. They turned all their influence in favor of their latest allegiance. And with their influence went that of the Reverend George Whitefield. His letters to prominent and wealthy persons in England, his efforts to secure an honorary degree for President Burr from a British university, his enlistment of the interest of the Countess of Huntington, and his assistance to Davies and Tennent when they made their memorable trip to England a few years later, are evidence of the great evangelist's activities on behalf of the new college.[1]

Between February and April, 1747, the first meeting

[1] Cf. V. L. Collins, "George Whitefield and the College of New Jersey," in *Princeton University Bulletin*, Vol. IX, p. 23.

of the trustees under the charter was held, and on April 20, in the *New York Gazette,* as already stated, appeared a notice that the Reverend Jonathan Dickinson had been elected to the presidency of the college and that the latter would be opened in the fourth week of May at Elizabeth Town. But no summary of the charter's provisions has been found of earlier date than that printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for August 13, 1747. The charter permitted a board of trustees of twelve, seven of whom were named in the instrument and five more might be elected by the original seven, or any four of them. The trustees were a self-perpetuating body with authority to receive bequests, donations, etc., to erect buildings, appoint a faculty and other officers " as are usual in any of the universities or colleges in the realm of Great Britain "; to make such laws and ordinances for the government of the College as were not repugnant to the laws of the realm and of the province " provided that no person be debarred any of the privileges of the said college on account of any speculative principles of religion; but those of every religious profession having equal privileges and advantages of education in the said college "; and finally the corporation was empowered to confer any degree conferred in British universities. It was announced that the Reverend Jonathan Dickinson, of Elizabeth Town, had been elected president, and Mr. Caleb Smith tutor, that the college was actually open, and that it would remain at Elizabeth Town until a building could be erected in a more central place in the province.

The election of Mr. Dickinson to the presidency had been a foregone conclusion. He was one of the leaders of the original movement looking toward the establishment of a college in the middle provinces; he had kept the idea alive during the long wait, and he was the lead-

ing spirit to seize the chance when it came. The great-grandson of an Oxford graduate he was born in Massachusetts and had been graduated from Yale in 1706, under Yale's first president. Two years later he had come to Elizabeth Town and had been ordained pastor of the church there in 1709, in his twenty-first year. He had grown to be the leading member of the Presbytery of New York and one of the best known preachers in the American Presbyterian Church. Besides this, he was more than an average lawyer, and he also practiced medicine. At the time of his election as president of the new college he had but lately published his celebrated and oft reprinted "Familiar Letters," a work on the evidences of Christianity which clinched for him the reputation of being not only the ablest defender in America of Presbyterian doctrine and constitution, but one of the foremost English speaking theologians of the eighteenth century. Mr. Caleb Smith, the newly elected tutor, was another Yale man and at the time was studying with Mr. Dickinson in the private divinity school the latter was conducting.

Acting Governor Hamilton's grant had inevitably laid itself open to criticism. It is said that zealous adherents of the Established Church decided to attack it in Chancery. Be that as it may, they lost no time in acquainting the Bishop of London, under whose jurisdiction the Province of New Jersey lay, with Hamilton's unprecedented action. It was claimed that the petition for the charter was put in so suddenly and privately that the clergy of the Established Church had had no opportunity to enter a caveat against it; in any case it was hoped that if it proved to be inconsistent with the Constitution steps might be taken by the bishop to quash the charter. But it does not appear that the bishop ever

proceeded in the matter, and the Hamilton charter was never formally attacked. Several years later its validity was assailed in the *New York Mercury* (July, 1755), and it was claimed that Hamilton in 1746 had been incompetent through old age, that he had been so blind as to be unable to read, and so weak that he could scarcely sign his name. The neat rejoinder was made that the validity of other grants and instruments of his at this period was never questioned, and the invidious distinction thus revealed laid bare the animus of the attack. Although the first charter was never recorded there seems to have been no question among the friends of the College as to its validity. All of Governor Belcher's letters in regard to the College accept the legality of the Hamilton charter; in fact, the governor declared that if the trustees preferred to go on under the old grant he would be satisfied. He accepts without question the legal existence of the College under the first charter. After he granted a new instrument the first charter was dropped from existence by tacit consent, and a new life was begun.

Governor Hamilton could scarcely have doubted that the design of his petitioners was not limited to the education of a ministry. Governor Belcher clearly took the same larger view, and in the official statements of the trustees this view was obtained. In the " General Account " of 1752 prepared for the Tennent-Davies campaign abroad, the ministerial object is given secondary place. The statement reads:

" It will suffice to say that the two principal Objects the Trustees had in View, were Science and Religion. Their first Concern was to cultivate the Minds of the Pupils, in all those Branches of Erudition, which are generally taught in the Universities abroad; and to perfect their Design, their next Care was to rectify the

Heart, by inculcating the great Precepts of Christianity, in order to make them good Men.''

Here is a clear statement of the prime object of the College. The '' first concern '' of the trustees was to make it ultimately the equal of universities abroad, and '' their next care '' was to make it a home of religious principles. It is true that in the special '' Petition,'' which was drawn up in England in 1754 by Tennent and Davies, the emphasis is laid entirely on ministerial education, but it must be remembered that this document was prepared for distribution in Scotland just before the annual meeting of the General Assembly of the Scottish Church; it was planned for a special audience, the clergy and members of that church, and was issued by Tennent and Davies on their own responsibility, and does not bear the official indorsement of the board of trustees.

It is well to emphasize this fact as to the real purpose of the founders, for the following pages will show that in course of time that purpose was obscured by successive administrations until, with the early overshadowing presence at Princeton of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church to give color to the belief, the mistaken view gained firm hold on the public mind, and to a certain extent has retained its hold, that the College of New Jersey was founded chiefly to educate candidates for the ministry, and that college and seminary are departments of a single university.

Mr. Dickinson was elected to the presidency early in the spring of 1747, and the College was opened at Elizabeth Town toward the end of May. The contemporary minutes of the trustees are not preserved, and it is not known what requirements for admission were laid down,

if any, nor what curriculum was outlined. The course was in all likelihood similar to that which Mr. Dickinson had been giving to his own pupils. Recitations were heard in Mr. Dickinson's parsonage, and the students lived in private lodgings in the village. Their number is not definitely known, although it was not more than eight or ten,[1] most of whom undoubtedly had been the president's own pupils. It is certain, however, that a class was ready for graduation by May, 1748, and the third Wednesday of that month was chosen for the first Commencement Day. But before that date arrived much history was to be made for the College by the new governor of the province.

Jonathan Belcher reached New Jersey in August, 1747. He had probably been informed of the existence of the College, and he took up the project with immediate energy. A native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Harvard, he had traveled extensively in Europe before entering mercantile life at Boston. Becoming in the course of time governor of the colony he had also served as a member of the Harvard board of overseers. With his wealth and liberal education he had also strong religious tastes; moreover, he had the mental vision that came from good breeding and wide travel. He had left Massachusetts under a cloud, but on reaching London had been able to shatter the case against him, and he speedily found the governorship of New Jersey offered him. He was at this time a man of sixty-five. Reaching New Jersey he did not delay to acquaint himself with affairs in his new domain, and a letter of his dated within a few days of his arrival mentions with favor Mr. Dickinson and "the affair in which he's concerned."

[1] Cf. "A Short Account of . . the College in the Province of New Jersey," *New American Magazine*, March, 1760.

His gubernatorial experience showed him at once that the Hamilton charter was not all that it might have been from a legal point of view, and although under necessity he would have forced himself to be satisfied with it and would have confirmed and renewed it,[1] nevertheless he proposed forthwith to rectify its weakness. In addition to a better charter, the College needed visible and permanent form such as a residence of its own; and it needed money. The permanent location had already been the subject of "much striving." In the 1747 agreement of the New York trustees to the election of the Log College representatives, the chief paragraph expresses their consent to have the College placed at Princeton, and their insistence that buildings be erected speedily, "because it will not in Common reputation be Esteemed a College till some publick buildings are built for the uses of such College." It did not take the governor long to agree to the choice of Princeton and to ally himself with those who believed that the halfway village on the high road between New York and Philadelphia was the place for the location of the College, being "as near the centre of the province as any and a fine situation."

Acknowledging on October 8, 1747, the receipt of a catalogue—its first catalogue and one of the hopeless desires of Princeton bibliographers—he wrote to President Dickinson arranging to see him and Mr. Pemberton within the week so as to plan some scheme to lay before the Provincial Assembly "for the service of our Embryo College, as a Lottery or anything else." And to Pemberton he writes in the same vein, asking him to come "prepar'd to lay something before the Assembly for the service of our Infant College. I say *our* because I

[1]Letter to Gilbert Tennent, June 18, 1748.

am determined to adopt it for a Child and to do everything in my power to promote and Establish so noble an Undertaking.'' He had already reached his two other conclusions, one as to location, and the other that the trustees '' must have a new and better Charter, which I shall give them.'' The enthusiastic old governor did not know that while he was penning his eager words to Mr. Dickinson that great heart lay dead in the parsonage at Elizabeth Town.

President Dickinson died of pleurisy on October 7, 1747, leaving young Caleb Smith sole member of the college faculty. It is inconceivable that the whole burden of teaching, between Dickinson's death and the formal election of his successor, fell on Smith's shoulders. The Reverend Aaron Burr had shared in the movement leading to the founding of the College; he was one of the original seven trustees; he had managed a school at Newark similar to Dickinson's at Elizabeth Town; he was nearest at hand; and, although no official record exists, there is trustworthy evidence that he was appointed, if not elected, to take charge of the college, transferring headquarters to his own parsonage at Newark. There were eight students in residence at the time.[1]

The death of President Dickinson made no change in Governor Belcher's plans, although it was, he said, '' indeed a Considerable loss to my Adopted daughter.'' The accumulation of public business before the assembly made it unwise at this time to lay the needs of the College before that body; he tells Mr. Pemberton in January, 1748, that he fears for the success of such a move

[1] See obituary notice of President Burr, dated Princeton, September 29, 1757, and published in the *New York Mercury,* October 10, 1757, and the *Pennsylvania Journal,* October 13, 1757. (N. J. Archives, Vol. XX, p. 140.)

at the time, "tho' several Gentlemen of Influence are very Friendly, yet well Timing is a good Step in business—And I think a few Months can be of no great detriment." The delay would give him a chance to frame his proposed new charter, and he therefore asks Mr. Pemberton and his friends to digest the matter " with Inlargement," and let him have a rough sketch of their ideas and he will see wherein it can be improved. At his request the first Commencement was postponed from time to time to July, 1748, on which occasion he intended to be present. As for the charter, he was taking the best advice he could obtain, and at last in May he was able to send a draft to Chief Justice Kinsey of Pennsylvania with a list of the proposed trustees, and asking for criticism. Copies were sent to several other interested friends, among them the Reverend Jonathan Edwards at Stockbridge, from whom the governor obtained a number of " kind hints." And by June he was ready to have the charter engrossed and the seal affixed.

But, under the leadership of Gilbert Tennent, strong opposition to certain provisions of the charter had developed in the board. According to the governor, Mr. Tennent seemed inclined to " draw up Spectres and Apparitions into Substances about the King's Governors being always one of the Trustees," and Jonathan Edwards feared that Tennent would drop out entirely if the proviso were retained. The governor had at first intended that four members of the Provincial Council should be ex-officio members of the board, beside the governor of the province himself. Against his own preference he had waived the council's representation, but he held out stubbornly for the governor's presence. He could not think it prudent to grant a charter otherwise;

he feared it might offend his superiors at Whitehall; perhaps the trustees would prefer to go on under the original charter, in which case he would " be quite easy," but if he was to have any more to do with it, he would send the document to be engrossed. He considered the charter the most important matter before him—Commencement and entrance requirements and examinations being " small things to the adjusting and Completing the Charter which is the Foundation on which every thing Else depends." Meanwhile, he was looking ahead, and before the charter was ready he was planning to add to the faculty a professor of medicine and surgery, a science which he believed as useful as any in a young country already " too much plagued with Quacks and Blundering Man Slayers." As for the financial side, he felt that little encouragement would be received from the government of the province; he estimated the entire population at only 60,000 souls; and many public officials were Quakers who were unfriendly to learning, so that private subscriptions seemed to be the only means of gaining a footing.

At length the charter was read by the King's attorney general and, having been accepted by the council, by July 28 it had passed the seal of the province. When Mr. Pemberton unguardedly intimated that things were going rather slowly, the governor bluntly informed him that " in all Acts of Government I must and will proceed with the best propriety I am Master of, and no Body will be able to Persuade me to move Slower or faster than that. Beside my Heart is so especially engaged in the Prosperity of the College, that I want no Stimulus." And Mr. Pemberton returned to his New York pulpit with chastened spirit. The charter was sent to the trustees on October 4, 1748, and was accepted

by them a few days later, and the oft deferred first commencement was finally set for November 9, 1748.

The Belcher charter is the instrument under which, with only such amendments as passing time and altered conditions have rendered necessary, Princeton University exists to-day. Like its predecessor it is absolutely undenominational, "free and equal Liberty and Advantage of Education in the said College, any different Sentiments on Religion notwithstanding," being guaranteed to "those of every religious Denomination." And like its predecessor again, its object is to enable the youth of the provinces to be "instructed in the Learned Languages and in the Liberal Arts and Sciences." There is no mention of any set purpose to educate for the ministry. In several particulars relating to the constitution of the board of trustees it differed from its predecessor. It made the governor of the province, for the time being, *ex officio* president of the board, and the president of the college, for the time being, *ex officio* a member of the board; it increased the number of trustees from twelve to twenty-three, including the governor; and it required that twelve of them should be residents of the province. Thirteen of the trustees named in the charter came from New Jersey, six from Pennsylvania, and four from New York. Twelve of them were clergymen, eleven Presbyterians and one a Welsh Calvinist. Among the laymen at least two were Episcopalians, at least two were Quakers, and one belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. Four of the New Jersey laymen were members of the provincial council; and one of them, Andrew Johnston, the provincial treasurer, was elected treasurer of the College; so that while Governor Belcher did not get his complete will as regarded *ex officio* representation of the council in the board, he, nevertheless,

thoroughly safeguarded Crown interests. On the new board were nine Yale graduates, four Harvard graduates, and three Log College alumni.[1]

Whatever Governor Belcher's activities may have been in New England—and he has been charged with a variety of picturesque shortcomings[2]—his attitude toward the College of New Jersey was one which Princetonians find impossible to criticise. Whether or not his immediate and active interest was mere sentiment is after all of little matter; and smile though one may at his constant allusion to his "infant Daughter," it must be admitted that his conduct was that of a prudent and far-seeing parent. His subsequent refusal to allow his name to be given to the building he was to be most instrumental in erecting indicates that his motives were unselfish; his suggestion that the building be named after William of Nassau was a wise appeal for popular favor on behalf of the College, just as his effort to get a Scottish university to confer the honorary degree of doctor of divinity on Mr. Burr and Mr. Pemberton was an endeavor to strengthen the standing of the College in academic circles. His direction of the process of incorporation was governed by the utmost care and the strictest observance of legalities; he was bound there should be no flaw in the new foundation he was laying. As for the permanence of the institution, that was en-

[1] The trustees named in the charter were John Reading, James Hude, Andrew Johnston, Thomas Leonard, John Kinsey, Edward Shippen, William Smith, Peter V. B. Livingston, William P. Smith, Samuel Hazard, and the Reverends John Pierson, Ebenezer Pemberton, Joseph Lamb, Gilbert Tennent, William Tennent, Richard Treat, Samuel Blair, David Cowell, Aaron Burr, Timothy Johnes, Thomas Arthur, and Jacob Green. All the 1746 trustees were reappointed with the exception of Mr. Dickinson, who had died, and Mr. Finley, who had resigned.

[2] Cf. "The Belcher Papers," Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 6th series, Vol. VI, p. xxii.

tirely a matter of funds—" if finally," he frankly told Mr. Tennent, " Money cannot be raised to build the House [i. e., Nassau Hall] and to Support the Necessary officers, the thing must of course prove Abortive." Just before the College moved to Princeton he presented to it his library of about five hundred volumes, in addition to his carved and gilded coat of arms, his own full length portrait that stood, as he said, " in what is called the blue chamber in my House," and the ten framed portrait heads of kings and queens of England that had hung over the mantel in his library. Of all these treasures only one of his books is still in the possession of the University.

Yale is the mother of Princeton in so far as early presidents and trustees are concerned; but to this graduate of Harvard more than to any other one man Princeton owes her material being. It is only fair to add that Governor Belcher granted no franchise or privilege not already conferred by Hamilton. But if there had been any question as to the validity of the Hamilton charter, Governor Belcher undoubtedly legalized the existence of the College by his grant. Besides this, he increased the number of trustees from twelve to twenty-three, and, while he did not prescribe any proportion between the lay and the clerical membership, he raised the number of laymen from three in the first charter to eleven in his own. Thus he gained for the board a larger constituency and at the same time secured the invaluable support of the laity. Herein lies the second great improvement of his charter over Hamilton's. Moreover, he associated with the predominant Presbyterian element in the board representatives of at least three other religious communions. The trustees under the first charter were all Presbyterians. Furthermore, by placing

on the governing board more representatives from colonies other than New Jersey and by inducing the trustees to locate the College on the border line between East and West Jersey he united New York and Philadelphia influences, and those of New England and the South; while, in his selection of lay trustees—the chief justice of Pennsylvania, the leading lawyer in New York, and four of the provincial council of New Jersey—he combined civil with ecclesiastical tendencies, allied the College with the state as closely as with the church, and thus, besides fostering it as a nursery of colonial ministers, prepared the way for Witherspoon and his school of statesmen. In a very true sense, therefore, he furthered the nationalization of the College, and embodying in the terms of his charter the liberal provisions of the Hamilton grant brought closer to realization the long dreamed hopes of the original promoters. And finally, he laid the foundation of financial stability for the College by obtaining recommendations from the church most interested in it; he turned to the use of the College his high connections in England by giving Tennent and Davies introductions that enabled them to secure donations from various sources not only in England but also in Scotland and in Ireland, and thus aided in no small degree in making Nassau Hall "a monument of the united gifts of England, Scotland, and Ireland to the cause of Christian learning in America."[1]

Implied in all this is the inescapable fact that the founders of Princeton University organized it on the broad basis of a *studium generale,* as a place where liberal studies might be pursued by all who cared to go

[1] C. W. Shields, "The Origin of Princeton University," in "Memorial Book of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the Founding of the College of New Jersey." New York, 1898, p. 455. Dr. Shields' conclusions are summarized in the foregoing paragraph.

thither. They devised it neither as a church nor as a state institution, but gave it, through its charter, responsible academic liberty. And lastly, they bequeathed to it practically absolute autonomy to manage its own affairs, to elect its own officers, to frame and administer its own laws, the *ex officio* presence of the governor on the board of trustees being the only external check. These privileges, guaranteed by both charters, are not to be ignored when considering the assumption of the university title by the College in 1896.

II

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

The First Commencement. Location at Princeton. Building Nassau Hall. Governor Belcher and President Burr. President Edwards. Administration of President Davies. Administration of President Finley.

The formal records of the College begin with the minutes of a meeting of the board of trustees held at New Brunswick on October 13, 1748, one month after the charter finally passed the Great Seal. Thirteen of the trustees were present, "who having Accepted the Charter, were qualified and Incorporated According to the Direction thereof," by taking the three customary prescribed oaths, first the one appointed by "An Act for the further security of his Majesty's person and government, and the succession of the Crown in the heirs of the late Princess Sophia, being protestants, and for extinguishing the hope of the pretended Prince of Wales"; second, the oath required by an act of Parliament "preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants"; and the third, an oath to administer faithfully the trust reposed in them by the charter.

After electing a clerk the board proceeded to vote an address of thanks to Governor Belcher, to which he sent an appropriate reply. The board then adjourned to meet at Newark on Commencement Day, November 9. On this date seventeen trustees, including the governor, assembled and five, with the governor, took the oaths. Mr. Burr was then formally elected president according to arrangement, and he was "pleased modestly to ac-

cept '' his election. The board then adjourned to attend the first commencement of the College of New Jersey.

In solemn procession, headed by the six members of the graduating class, walking two by two uncovered, and followed by the president and the governor, they proceeded from the parsonage to the church, where the exercises of the day were to be held. The procession entered in inverted order, the graduating class and the trustees halting at the door and dividing into two lines, through which the governor and the president passed into the building, the bell ringing steadily. After prayer by the president, the audience was requested to stand and '' hearken to His Majesty's Royal Charter, granted to the Trustees of the College of New Jersey.'' This ceremony by itself was of sufficient solemnity and importance to constitute the morning's proceedings, and the president announced that the graduation exercises would be held in the afternoon. At two o'clock accordingly, after a procession similar to that of the morning, the '' publick Acts '' were opened by President Burr's inaugural, '' an elegant Oration in the Latin Tongue, delivered *memoriter,*'' tracing the history of education from ancient times to Great Britain in her universities, thence to New England in Harvard and Yale, and now at last to New Jersey in the college whose munificent charter had that morning been formally published to the world. After President Burr's oration followed the customary disputations by the graduating class, on theological and philosophical topics in English and in Latin. The president then demanding of the trustees in Latin formula whether it was their pleasure that the candidates be admitted to the bachelor's degree in arts, and his excellency the governor in the name of his colleagues on the board signifying assent, the president descended

from the pulpit and " being seated with his Head covered received them two by two; and according to the Authority to him committed by the Royal Charter, after the manner of the Academies in England " admitted the candidates to the degree. Public recognition of the governor's services was then made the climax of the occasion and the honorary degree of master of arts was conferred on him. The exercises concluded with a Latin Salutatory by Daniel Thane of the graduating class, and prayer by the president.

The occasion had been one of fitting and impressive academic dignity for which the governor was largely responsible. He had intimated to Mr. Burr the propriety, aside from his own desire, of " a wise Frugality " at commencement ceremonies, and an elimination of " the Too Common Extravagances and Debauchery " of such occasions, which in his opinion would be " no honor to what may laudably pride itself in being called a Seminary of Religion and Learning." His must have been the most radiant face in the whole company. His great desire had been attained, the College was a reality and possessed an adequate charter, and with just enough of academic ritual to give the ceremony the weight in public esteem that the cause of higher education in the province demanded, the first degrees had been conferred and the College of New Jersey was started on its career.

The responsibilities of the trustees had, however, just begun; there was still plenty of unfinished business; and when commencement exercises were over the board met again at Mr. Burr's house to consider and adopt the necessary code of rules and orders which the president had drawn up for the government of the institution. Requirements for admission were laid down;

the conditions of graduation and of application for the higher degrees were adopted; rules of worship and college laws of discipline and attendance were codified; college fees were settled; it was decreed that Commencement Day hereafter should be the last Wednesday in September; a seal was adopted, and a treasurer elected. One suspects that the governor's mercantile experience of the value of publicity was responsible for the resolution that a full account of that day's exercises be published as soon as possible in the papers.[1] Plans for raising funds were next considered. Each member of the board was urged to seek benefactions, and agents were selected to receive subscriptions. As a trustee expressed it in a remark that is no less truthful to-day than it was then, "the Principal thing we now want is a proper Fund to enable us to go on with this expensive Undertaking." A special committee was named to approach the general assembly of the province and induce its aid. At the next meeting the committee was ordered to renew its application and especially to ask for a lottery; but the assembly refused, and subsequently a lottery was drawn in Philadelphia. Meanwhile, some £800 had been collected.

Nothing seems to have been done about a permanent location for the College. Governor Belcher, however, had no intention to allow a matter of such importance to drop out of sight. He clung to the original choice of Princeton; but several of the trustees favored New Brunswick, and that place had been chosen for the next commencement. In September, 1750, the board ordered that proposals be made to both New Brunswick and Princeton, asking what bonus each would give in return

[1] The account was prepared by William Smith, and was published in the *New York Gazette* of November 21, 1748.

for the locating of the College, and in the following year, 1751, it was voted that New Brunswick be chosen, provided the inhabitants secured £1000 proclamation money, ten acres of cleared land contiguous to the proposed college buildings, and two hundred acres of woodland not more than three miles from town. But the village of Princeton had not been inactive and at this meeting submitted a counter offer. A committee of the trustees was appointed to view both sites and to report. The leisureliness of the proceedings consumed the next year, and it was the governor's turn to chafe at the delay. He had had thirty years' experience as an overseer of Harvard College and he was thoroughly familiar with the extreme caution of academic governing bodies whose members lived scattered over wide areas, with uncertain means of locomotion and communication, and his letters show his constant attempt to keep the trustees stirring. He knew that the all-necessary funds could be coaxed more easily if the College had a permanent home and some outward and visible sign of its inward graces. So at the meeting of September, 1752, he took the bull by the horns and addressed a letter to the board which, although entirely moderate in tone, nevertheless was a plain hint that he desired action. He pointed out again the absolute necessity of erecting a building for lodging the students, and a house for the president and his family; he remarked that already the College had grown until it was unwieldy in its present situation; the conditions were totally inadequate to the circumstances; it was a case of the bed being shorter than that a man could stretch himself upon it and the covering narrower than that he could wrap himself in it; furthermore, it had been his observation that colleges grew faster when they had abiding homes of their own; as for himself

he had passed the stated period of human life, and like the eastern prince of old he might say his days were extinct and his grave ready; but, if he could still be serviceable to this seminary of religion and learning, it would give him pleasure in life and comfort in death.

There was something touching in the governor's devotion to this child of his old age, something almost pathetic in his eagerness to see it firmly settled in its own abode before he passed away; and his final appeal was not in vain. New Brunswick had not complied with the terms and was dropped from further consideration. The people of Princeton, on the other hand, had expressed their readiness to accept the conditions laid down by the board, and it was voted to locate the College at Princeton when these conditions should be fulfilled. They were the same as those offered to New Brunswick, with the further stipulation that one-half of the money consideration was to be paid when the foundations were laid, and the balance six months later, all the conditions to be accepted within six months, or the bid forfeited.[1]

By January (1753) the terms of the agreement had been met, with the exception of the mere formality of passing a deed for the plot of ground on "the broad street where it is proposed that the College shall be built." This plot, 400 feet long by 490 feet deep, was the gift of Mr. Nathaniel FitzRandolph, a Quaker resident to whom, after Governor Belcher, the final settlement on Princeton was chiefly due. When Governor Hamilton had granted the first charter, Mr. FitzRandolph at once set about securing the College for Prince-

[1] The move to Princeton was earnestly opposed by the Presbyterians of Newark, because it meant the departure of their pastor, Mr. Burr; and an ineffectual petition was presented to the trustees urging that the College be permanently located at Newark. (Shippen Letters, Penna. Historical Society.)

ton. He prepared and circulated twenty subscription papers and raised several hundred pounds, and when the decision on a new charter canceled these subscriptions he issued new papers, gave £20 himself and all his time to the task of fixing the College at Princeton. And he it was who deeded to the trustees the four and a half acre lot on which Nassau Hall was eventually built. In all he raised in and about Princeton some £1700. The imposing gateway facing Nassau Hall is a conspicuous monument to the memery of this early benefactor, but the simpler tablet with its inscription, "*In agro jacet nostro immo suo,*" set in the dormitory wall now crossing the family burial ground where his body was laid nearly one hundred and forty years ago, is more consonant with the unassuming character of the man. If, as is believed, his bones were among the fragments reverently gathered up from unmarked graves and sealed behind the tablet when the dormitory was built, his remains rest in the grateful keeping of the academe to which he gave a home.

A more central location for the College than the village of Princeton could scarcely have been chosen. Lying midway between New York and Philadelphia, the Keith province line separating East from West Jersey skirted its western borders. In fact, it lay between this and the discredited Laurence line. Within the possible memory of men still living in 1753, the site of the village had been a frontier region, a virgin forest traversed by paths known only to the Indians, the most direct of which going east and west had come to be the king's highway, the "broad street" of Mr. FitzRandolph's day. In this region had met the two waves of immigration into the province, one from New York into East Jersey, the other from the head of navigation on the

Delaware into West Jersey. By the middle of the eighteenth century the village consisted of somewhat less than threescore houses scattered along the thoroughfare, with a well-found tavern or two, where all travelers knew they might break their journey in comfort. Opposite the thickest clustering of the houses lay the FitzRandolph land. The romance and pageant of colonial life passed back and forth along the highway; on that stage some of the early scenes in the drama of the Revolution were soon to be acted; and so situated, the College could not avoid the destiny of sharing in many an accident of contemporary history, which, even when not important, was still picturesque.

Small though the village was, there were wealthy landowners and men of provincial prominence residing in the community. The bond of £1000 demanded by the College was signed by John Hornor, a Quaker; Judge Thomas Leonard, a trustee, and Judge John Stockton, whose son Richard had been graduated in the first class, in 1748. The prospective importance of the College to the community was at once indicated by a rise in Princeton land values. Extant correspondence reveals sharp dealing, and the trustees were forced to buy up land adjoining the FitzRandolph gift to save the College from being hemmed in by undesirable neighbors. With the funds in hand, however, and the money pledged they felt justified in proceeding with their plans. But a year and a half elapsed before ground was broken (July 29, 1754) and on September 17, 1754, the first cornerstone was laid. The plan of the principal building and that of the president's house were drawn by Mr. Robert Smith of Philadelphia, architect of the State House, and by Dr. Shippen, also of Philadelphia. The stone for the walls of Nassau Hall was obtained from a local

NASSAU HALL AND PRESIDENT'S (NOW THE DEAN'S) HOUSE

[Dawkins' Engraving, 1764]

quarry. The Reverend Ezra Stiles, passing through Princeton at this time, measured the foundations and recorded their dimensions three times in his diary,[1] with a drawing, which is the only contemporary plan in existence. The foundations were one hundred and seventy-seven feet long, fifty-three and two-thirds feet wide, with a rear extension of fifteen feet in length and some thirty-six feet in width and a front extension of three or four feet; the corridors were ten feet wide. There were three entrances, one on each side of the central entrance. The basement contained sixteen rooms, and the three stories forty-four rooms in all, exclusive of the hall or chapel, and the whole was surmounted by a low cupola. These sixty apartments included the rooms of students, recitation rooms, refectory, kitchen, library, etc. The roof was pitched in November, 1755. Dr. Stiles asserts that it was at this time the largest stone edifice in the colonies. The building was planned to hold one hundred and forty-seven students, reckoning three to a room, but not more of it was finished than was needed.[2] Everything, said Mr. Burr, was being done in the plainest and cheapest manner as far as was consistent with decency and convenience, and "having no superfluous Ornaments." The cost of the building itself was about £2,900. The contract price for the president's house was £600, but it cost over that sum.

But in January, 1753, when the Princeton site was finally agreed upon, beside mere buildings there were other expenses to be met, such as endowment for salaries, for general equipment, and for the establishment of a fund for needy students. Long ago the trustees had cast their eyes on Great Britain. Governor Belcher had

[1] Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., March 10, 1892.
[2] The building was not completed until 1762.

written in 1747 to friends abroad, hoping to get donations, and in 1749 the trustees had availed themselves of the services of two gentlemen, Colonel Williams and Mr. Jeremiah Allen, who had volunteered to solicit aid while in England. Governor Belcher and President Burr wrote letters of introduction for them to the Countess of Huntington, George Whitefield's patroness, and according to her biographer considerable sums were collected through her agency; but no record exists of the receipt of any such moneys, nor does her name even occur in the minutes of the board of trustees as having been instrumental in securing funds for the College. It would seem that her interest brought no direct financial results. By September, 1750, the trustees had received no accounts of the Williams-Allen effort, and Whitefield, who had shown deep interest in the College, explained to Mr. Tennent that all was ready for harvesting the results when Mr. Allen died of fever and the whole scheme fell through. Whitefield suggested that President Burr or Mr. Pemberton visit Great Britain on behalf of the College. The board agreed to the suggestion, and Mr. Pemberton was willing to go, but his congregation objected. Mr. Burr then reluctantly agreed to make the trip, but no one could be found to manage the College in his absence, and finally in September, 1753, the two trustees, Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davies, were commissioned.

Mr. Davies was characteristically pessimistic over the trip; he was entering, he said, on the "most surprising and unexpected step" of his life; what would be the consequence he knew not, but he declared that at times he had "very gloomy prospects about it." And when he saw a letter from London, remarking that the "principles inculcated in the College of New Jersey are

generally looked upon as antiquated and unfashionable by the Dissenters in England," he felt it a dismal omen for the embassy on which he and Mr. Tennent were embarking.[1] But their mission, nevertheless, was a complete success. The exact sum collected is not recorded. It was over £3,200, raised chiefly by church collections in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The story of the mission is preserved in Mr. Davies' diary, of which one volume in the original manuscript is in the library of Princeton University. The whole diary is published in Foote's " Sketches of Virginia."

At the September meeting of the board at Newark, in 1755, the governor having presented his library, his portrait and coat of arms, and the royal portraits, the board made him in sonorous terms an address of thanks, which closed with the following words: " As the College of New Jersey views you in the light of its Founder, Patron and Benefactor; and the impartial World will esteem it a Respect deservedly due to the Name of Belcher; permit us to dignify the Edifice now erecting at Princeton, with that endeared Appellation. And when your Excellency is translated, *to a House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens,* Let BELCHER-HALL proclaim your beneficent Acts, for the advancement of Christianity and Emolument of the *Arts* and *Sciences,* to the latest Ages."

But the shrewd old governor was not caught off his guard, and a year later at commencement in September, 1756, the last held at Newark, his reply was delivered to the board, expressing his appreciation of the honor the trustees would do him, but suggesting that the building be named Nassau Hall and thus keep ever-living testimony to " the Honour we retain, in this remote Part

[1] New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. VI, p. 170.

of the Globe, to the immortal Memory of the Glorious King William the Third who was a Branch of the illustrious House of Nassau."

The governor's hint was a command, and a resolution was at once passed in the following terms: "Whereas his Excellency Governor Belcher has signified to us his declining to have the Edifice we have lately erected at Princeton for the Use and Service of New Jersey College to be called after his Name, and has desired and for Good Reasons that it should be called after the Name of the illustrious House of NASSAU, It is therefore voted, and is hereby ordered that the said Edifice be in all Time to come called and Known by the *Name* of *Nassau Hall.*"[1]

This name soon became so generally associated with the College that in early records, and indeed until the time of the Civil War, it is common to find the institution called, even officially, "Nassau Hall," or simply "Nassau." After the erection of East and West Colleges the name "North College" came into use, being later familiarized into "Old North." In recent years custom and official nomenclature have reverted to the original name.

The meeting of the board in September, 1755, is interesting not alone because it gave a name to the main college building. Looking forward to the life of the College under new conditions, the board had empowered the committee in charge of the Princeton arrangements to engage a steward and a butler, "and to settle Commons," and at the meeting in 1755 Jonathan Baldwin of Princeton, and a member of the graduating class, was appointed to the thankless post of college steward. He held the position for seventeen years, the first incumbent

[1] Minutes of the board of trustees.

of an office which existed just a century. There is little mention of the college butler in the records, but the steward and his multifarious duties were constantly stepping into the light of critical publicity. Next to the president he was the chief executive of the College. His principal task of course was to maintain the college dining-room, and he was required periodically to give bond that he would supply good board at a stipulated rate. But in addition he collected board bills, tuition fees, and room rent, and as long as the prayer-hall continued to be the village church he also collected pew rents. He sold text-books, he cleaned the college chimneys, and was a guardian of the belfry and especially of the bell-rope, that ever lurking temptation to mischievous scholars. He hired the college servants and sometimes even paid the tutors. He dispatched expresses after laggard or forgetful trustees at times of special meetings. He purchased college furniture, on one occasion being directed to procure " one good low Back'd Windsor Chair, and one Dozen of common black Chairs " for the use of the trustees at their meetings. What with bad debts, overdue fees, grasping merchants, and a defective system of bookkeeping, his accounts were continually awry, and it was seldom that his affairs were not the subject of consideration at trustee meetings.

It was apparent by December, 1755, that the buildings would cost more than had been estimated, but Mr. Burr expected to complete them and have a balance of £1,600, and he hoped to secure other benefactions. He wished to appoint a professor of divinity to relieve himself of that teaching burden, and the trustees had their eyes on his father-in-law, the Reverend Jonathan Edwards. It was only lack of funds that prevented them from calling him at once.

The work at Princeton progressed slowly, but by September, 1756, Nassau Hall was sufficiently completed to be occupied and the board directed that the College be transported to Princeton that autumn. With about seventy students, President Burr accordingly moved early in November. Unfortunately, no description of that joyous one-day migration has come to light. But Mr. Burr's private account book shows that on November 13 he opened the record of formal exercises in Nassau Hall with a sermon on Psalm cxix. 64.

Thus began the campus life which was to be so characteristic of Princeton. Heretofore the students had lived in private lodgings scattered through a town; henceforth they were to live together in a little roadside village, a large academic family, sharing a common existence under a single roof. Here they were to form customs and manners and mold traditions, features of which there is no semblance clinging to the history of the Newark period.

A memorandum book kept by Samuel Livermore (1752), a little sheaf of letters from Joseph Shippen (1753) to his father Judge Shippen of Philadelphia, the contemporary code of college laws, and President Burr's account book are practically the only known sources of information as to student life at Newark. At first the undergraduates lived at Mr. Burr's parsonage, but we learn from Shippen that as the college grew in numbers they occupied lodgings, coming to the parsonage for college exercises. Already in 1750 Shippen says that he and his room-mate are studying in lodgings " abundantly more to our satisfaction than we should do at School," meaning presumably the parsonage. There is ground for the belief that during the last year or two of the Newark period, when the enrollment

had swollen from eight to seventy and the congestion had become intolerable, exercises were also held in an adjoining building. Under such conditions jurisdiction must have been loose and discipline hard to maintain; but contemporary comment on the administration of the laws is entirely lacking. It must have been easy to check up attendance at morning and evening compulsory prayers, absence from which meant a fine, doubled if the truancy occurred on Sunday, when each student was required to go to church. Disrespect to the president or tutors, or absence from town without leave, was finable at five shillings and was also easy to detect; but one wonders how Mr. Burr enforced the law forbidding students, under pain of fine, to absent themselves from their rooms on Saturday and Sunday evenings, except in case of absolute necessity, or on other days, save for half an hour after morning prayers and recitation, half an hour after dinner, and from evening prayer until nine; and how did he enforce the law that forbade playing at cards, dice, or " other unlawful games " under penalty of five shillings, or the law forbidding the carrying of " wine, metheglin, or any kind of distilled spirituous liquor into one's room "?

Young Shippen was such an earnest student that his letters to his father consist of little else than reports on his studies and requests for various text-books. He says that he has not time to send an account of college life, but will reserve the story until he goes home for vacation, with the result that, while he has left us valuable hints as to the curriculum, he has left nothing about the life he led in its pursuit. Portions of two other letters by him published in the Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society consist of comments on the marriage of President Burr. The freedom and maturity

with which he wrote make us regret only the more keenly that he did not rob his education of one hour and send his father the account desired. It would have answered a dozen questions like those mentioned above.

From Samuel Livermore's curious little volume we may learn at least how one well-born youth of twenty came down from Massachusetts to Newark for his last year at College, preparing for the ministry, which he never entered. Against the nineteen-day voyage from Boston to New York he laid in supplies to the extent of five quarts of rum, half a pound of tea, a dozen fowls, two pounds of sugar, a score of lemons, and three pounds of butter. No threadbare clerk of Oxenford was he; his wardrobe consisted of two close coats, one great coat, two jackets, thirteen shirts, seven pairs of stockings, six caps, four cravats, three handkerchiefs, and one pair of breeches. And though he was not the possessor of " Aristotle and his philosophye " at least his library contained a Bible, a Latin and Greek Testament, a Latin and Greek grammar, a Latin and Greek dictionary, Ward's " Introduction to Mathematics," Gordon's " Geography," a Virgil, and a Cicero—a far more complete outfit than the average student brought to college. Amply provided with funds, young Livermore became in a manner banker to the College, from Mr. Burr down. Not only did he lend the president money and advance cash for the diplomas given at commencement, buying the sheet of parchment and having it cut up and properly engrossed, but he also paid for the commencement programmes or list of theses defended by the graduating class. Furthermore, he supplied the seven pounds ten shillings which defrayed the cost of the " silver Can, a gift " presented by the senior class

in June, 1752, to " Mr. Praeses " Burr as a wedding gift, for which the " Revd. Prest. by short Orat: returned his Thanks." His board cost eighty cents a week and his total expenses for the college year were estimated at one hundred and sixty-five dollars.

President Burr's private account book throws but little light on the College at Newark, save to reveal the paternalism of the position he occupied. He supplied his pupils not only with the text-books they used, but often with the shoes and breeches they wore, the candles they burned, and the medicine they needed, charging the items on their bills. The College was managed like a boarding school, of which he was the headmaster, sending his statements home to parents at irregular intervals. The removal to Princeton imparted at once a sense of maturity and responsible identity, and inaugurated a more formal system of business management.

The removal to Princeton also closed the work of the two men who had done most to bring it about. Whether or not Governor Belcher ever visited Nassau Hall after its occupation is not known. In his own words, it had seemed to him that a seminary of religion and learning should be promoted in the province " for the better enlightening the minds and polishing the manners of this and neighboring colonies," and this he had during his administration been " honestly and heartily prosecuting in all such laudable ways and measures " as he had judged most likely to succeed. But however close to his heart he may have held the College, and however earnestly Mr. Burr may have supported his hands, neither of them was to be permitted more than a glimpse of the promised land to whose borders they together had brought it. The governor was an old man when he came to the Jerseys, and had been growing feebler.

The electrical treatment given him by President Burr, who had a machine for his college lectures and also used the globes Benjamin Franklin had sent to Mr. Belcher, did not stay the creeping paralysis from which the governor was suffering, and he died on August 31, 1757.

Physically frail at best, Mr. Burr was in no condition to withstand the shock. In miserable health he had just returned from a hasty visit to Jonathan Edwards at Stockbridge, and, in spite of the hot weather, had immediately hurried to Elizabeth to plead with the general assembly of the province for the exemption of his collegians from military service. Ill now with intermittent fever, he had gone on to Philadelphia about further college business, and on his return had learned of the governor's death. Two days later, when he preached the funeral sermon, it was seen that he was fitter for his bed than for his pulpit; he could scarcely get through the task, and he came back to Princeton in desperate condition. Public commencement—the first at Princeton—was canceled and notice served that, owing to the president's illness, the exercises would be private. Four days before commencement he died. He was forty-one years old and had been president ten years.

To one of the newer dormitories of the University the name of Governor Hamilton has been given, and President Dickinson's name is borne by a recitation hall, but the names of Governor Belcher and President Burr have—and need—no other monument than Nassau Hall, the building that is irrevocably associated with their labors.

Governor Belcher's character and work have been sufficiently indicated in the preceding pages. The quieter and less conspicuous work of Burr was equally valuable. That he was one of the most winsome figures

in the history of early American education has been universal opinion. The slightness of his stature, his piercing dark eyes, the chiseled delicacy of his features, his sagacity and gentle graciousness, and the transparent beauty of his character were conspicuous; and coupled with these gifts he had those of a born teacher. Teaching, said Caleb Smith, who had sat at his feet as a student in divinity and later became his colleague, was what he delighted in. It was the allurement of his pupils' possibilities that caught his fancy. Not what they were when he gave them their diplomas, but what they might become was the prize he played for. His scholarship and his ideals were as lofty as those of Dickinson; he sought not to make ministers only, but public servants who would by their influence and usefulness bring honor to the College to which he for his part had devoted the best years of his life. He was "modest in prosperity, prudent in difficulty, in business indefatigable, magnanimous in danger, easy in his manners, of exquisite judgment, of profound learning, catholic in sentiment, of the purest morals and great even in the minutest things." Funeral eulogiums are unsafe foundations on which to build estimates of character, but in the case of President Burr it is easy to substantiate practically all the praise that was uttered in Nassau Hall over his dead body. If Governors Hamilton and Belcher made Princeton University a corporate possibility, President Burr made the College of New Jersey a reality. He drew up its first entrance requirements, its first course of study, its first code of rules for internal government; he supervised the erection of its first buildings and organized its life under the new conditions; and he created its first treasury. It seems peculiarly hard, therefore, that he should have been

called to lay down his work just as he reached its consummation.

The Reverend Jonathan Edwards of Stockbridge had frequently been consulted by Governor Belcher and had been coveted by the trustees as a professor of divinity for the College. There is belief also that Mr. Burr, who had married Mr. Edwards' daughter, took frequent counsel with him in college affairs. This association led the board, the day after that melancholy first commencement at Princeton, to elect the Stockbridge divine the successor of his son-in-law. Mr. Edwards accepted much against his will. He was not at all sure that he could handle the task. "First my own defects," he wrote to the trustees,[1] "unfitting me for such an undertaking, many of which are generally known; besides other, which my heart is conscious of. I have a constitution, in many respects peculiarly unhappy, attended with flaccid solids; vapid, sizy and scarce fluids, and a low tide of spirits; often occasioning a kind of childish weakness and contemptibleness of speech, presence and demeanor; with a disagreeable dulness and stiffness, much unfitting me for conversation, but more especially for the government of a college. This makes me shrink at the thought of taking upon me, in the decline of life, such a new and great business, attended with such a multiplicity of cares, and requiring such a degree of activity, alertness, and spirit of government." Besides, he felt an unwillingness to put himself "into an incapacity to pursue" his studies and writing, an unavoidable condition if he undertook to "go through the same course of employ in the office of a president, that Mr. Burr did." He felt, moreover, that his train-

[1] Letter of October 19, 1757, in his "Works," New York, 1844, Vol. I, p. 49, etc.

ing had not been broad enough to enable him to teach the subjects demanded of a president. He was short in mathematics and the Greek classics, his Greek being limited to the New Testament. But he would be willing to take upon himself the duty of a president " so far as it consisted in the general inspection of the whole society," and would be subservient to the authorities of the institution, *i.e.*, the trustees, as to the " order and method of study and instruction," assisting " as discretion should direct and occasion serve " in the instruction of the arts and sciences, especially to the senior class. He would gladly lecture on divinity to graduate students and others, proposing questions for discussion and written reports. He did not care, however, to teach the languages, which would " now be out of my way," save perhaps Hebrew, which he was willing to teach so as to improve himself.

One suspects that with all his intellectual pre-eminence Mr. Edwards, constitutionally and temperamentally, would not have proved a very successful president on the administrative side. Certain procedures of his at Northampton indicate that he lacked somewhat in discretion and in practical wisdom. A giant in the realm of thought, he was neither a general scholar nor an executive, and the College needed just then as its head a man more interested in education than in theology. On the other hand, it must be remembered that had Edwards lived, mediocre executive though he might have been, he could not have helped becoming a tremendous intellectual force in the College and an incomparable stimulus to students who came beneath his sway. Nor may it be forgotten that the mere fact of his acceptance of the presidency and his entrance upon its duties brought unique distinction to the College by conferring

upon it, through association, the luster of one of the world's loftiest minds.

Mr. Edwards accepted the election, and, reaching Princeton at the end of January, 1758, qualified as president on February 16 at the meeting of the board which he attended. A week later he was inoculated for smallpox, and on March 22 he died. During the five brief weeks of his incumbency he preached in the college chapel and met the class in divinity. A list of theological questions which he propounded for discussion and report is still extant. But beyond this he did little or nothing. There was some force, therefore, in Dr. McCosh's criticism of Oliver Wendell Holmes' famous line in the Poem delivered at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard College. For, granting that Jonathan Edwards, had he lived, might have " stamped his iron heel " on " Princeton's sands " (wherever they may be), he was not in Princeton long enough to leave any impress at all on the College. In fact, some years after his death it was remarked with serious regret by certain ecclesiastical critics that recent Princetonian candidates for the ministry were not showing a sufficient understanding of " Calvinistic liberty," a doctrinal calamity which would not have happened had Mr. Edwards lived, and it was suggested that Edwards on this subject be made a text-book for the senior class. Princeton has naught to show for his administration, save the glory of his name on its roll of presidents, his tomb in the village graveyard, and the sheet of paper mentioned above—and the latter unfortunately the University does not own.

Put to it again, the board in April, 1758, elected to the presidency, but not unanimously, the Reverend James Lockwood of Weathersfield, Connecticut. Like the first

three presidents, he was a Yale graduate. Samuel Davies of Virginia and Samuel Finley of Pennsylvania were also mentioned. Mr. Lockwood declined, and the board gave a majority vote to Davies; but party spirit ran high; Finley was a Log College alumnus; the trustees were divided, and Davies too declined, so the matter was laid over until the next year.[1] In May, 1759, both Davies and Finley were renominated, and at length the former was elected. He was at this time thirty-six years old.

A condemned criminal could not have approached his doom with more fear and trembling than did Mr. Davies approach his new responsibilities. "A Tremour still seizes me," he wrote while waiting for commencement, when he was to be inaugurated, "A Tremour still seizes me at the Tho't of my Situation; and sometimes I can hardly believe it is a reality, but only a frightful portentous Dream." Fearsomely he had taken up the work on his arrival at Princeton, and, although he had found himself the head of "a peaceable management," he thought he knew human nature too well to flatter himself with expectations of a continuance of peace. He was in a state of panic. But he retained presence of mind enough to fortify his soul with such physical comforts as the evil times afforded, and he ended his letter by asking his correspondent, a trustee, to send him a supply of claret and beer, forty pounds of candles, with two candlesticks and snuffers, one large china bowl, and an English cheese, and he hopes to see him at commencement, though "that will be the terrible Day of my Mortification."[2] The other side of the picture is given by Mr. Joseph Treat, the college tutor, who was

[1] N. J. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. VI, p. 172.
[2] N. J. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. I, p. 77.

writing just the day before in very different tone, that things were going on " in a pleasing uniformity. Mr. Davies is much loved and respected by all. His persuasion is irresistible. His forcible eloquence carries all before it."

Of course, the president's fears were groundless. Nothing happened at commencement to mortify him, and in December he had to make the encouraging, though reluctant, admission that things were still going " Smooth and easy; and we seem at least to have so much Goodness as to love one another."

At their first meeting with President Davies the trustees agreed to consider means for enlarging the funds of the College and extending its usefulness, and it was decided to raise the standard of the bachelor's degree. Ten years had elapsed since the regulations for degrees had been drawn, and the president was ordered to prepare a new set. The problem of increasing the funds baffled the committee to which it was referred, and consideration was postponed. It was much easier to raise the standards. A beginning was made by adding arithmetic to freshman entrance requirements, residence of two years was to be exacted normally of all candidates for the bachelor's degree, or if a candidate presented himself at the public examination held at commencement he would be admitted to the degree, provided he were successful in the examination and paid two years' tuition fees. Candidates for any other class than the freshman would be received not on examination, but on actual trial of two weeks, and would remain in the advanced class or drop back into a lower one according to their showing in the trial.

The spirit in which the master's degree was to be administered may be gathered from the following pre-

amble to the regulation: " The different Degrees . . . conferred successively at different Periods suppose a proportional Increase of literary Merit, & consequently a sufficient Time of Residence in College for the further prosecution of Study, and a proper previous Examination to discover the Improvement of the Candidates. And when they are promiscuously distributed as cursory Formalities after the usual Interval of Time without any previous Evidence of suitable Qualifications, they sink into Contempt as insignificant Ceremonies, and no longer answer their original Design "; therefore, candidates for the master's degree would be required to reside in college for one week preceding commencement and to stand examination the day before commencement in the branches directly connected with " that Profession of life which they have entered upon or have in view."

Mr. Davies' first terrors had soon vanished and he now found himself easily grasping the tasks of the presidency. When the trustees directed him to draw up and print a catalogue of the college library, he wrote a preface which reveals his clear understanding of the need of tools of scholarship " in a Country where Books are so scarce, and private Libraries so poor and few "; a survey of the catalogue would show friends how lacking Nassau Hall was in this indispensable feature—" few modern Authors, who have unquestionably some Advantage above the immortal Ancients, adorn the Shelves. This Defect is most sensibly felt in the study of Mathematics and the Newtonian Philosophy, in which the Students have very imperfect Helps, either from Books or Instruments." There were about twelve hundred volumes in the library, four hundred and seventy-five of which were Governor Belcher's gift. The catalogue

was printed in 1760 at Woodbridge, New Jersey, by James Parker.

Permission to substitute psalmody for Scripture reading at college vespers was given in 1760, and was probably due as much to President Davies' own taste and insistence as to the influence of James Lyon, one of America's earliest musicians and a graduate of the class of 1759. To accommodate this distinct innovation, the "small tho' exceeding Good" organ was purchased which is mentioned in the official "Account of the College of New Jersey," published in 1764. Ezra Stiles is authority for the statement that this organ was the first used in an American Presbyterian place of worship; and he makes an interesting comment on its installation: "I thought it an innovation of ill consequence, & that the Trustees were too easily practised upon. They were [soon?] a little sick of it. The organ has been disused for sundry years, & never was much used."[1] This was written in 1770. Whether the organ was used or not, it is certain that for several years after this date there was singing in the prayer-hall at vespers.

Up to this time, the only ornament in the prayer-hall had been Governor Belcher's portrait and coat of arms and his pictures of British sovereigns. In January, 1761, an important addition was made to the collection by the arrival of a full-length portrait of George II, on whose recent death President Burr preached a memorable sermon (his last public address), and Mr. Samuel Blair, a graduate of the class of 1760 and then studying divinity, delivered an oration. Mr. James Parker of Woodbridge printed both of these productions. The occasion, January 14, seems to have been a memo-

[1] "Literary Diary," New York, 1901, Vol. I, p. 58; Vol. III, p. 162.

rial day in honor of the late King.[1] The painting had reached Princeton on January 8. Sixteen years later, almost to a day, on January 3, 1777, it was shot from its frame during the battle of Princeton, and seven years still later the portrait of Washington by Peale was inserted in the original frame and is to-day the most valued and historic painting in the University collection.

President Davies left indelible impress on the spirit of the institution. He raised the standard of degrees; he initiated the practice that lasted one hundred and thirty years of having the senior class deliver public orations once a month. An orator himself and a poet, as American poets went in those days, he turned the attention of the College to English composition and to declamation; he endeavored to add some touch of attractiveness to compulsory college worship by introducing singing. Perhaps his Welsh blood is to be thanked for his ardent love of music. In the diary of his trip to England, in 1753, he notes that the bells of London town were ringing on Christmas morning as he landed from the ship that brought him over, and they seemed to him "the most manly, strong and noble music" he had ever heard. It was in a note to a sermon preached in 1755, after Braddock's defeat, that he penned the well-known prophetic passage: "I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service." And the touch of imagination in his nature that made him an orator and a poet would have made him a great president. The

[1] The painter and the donor of the portrait are not known. Maclean is certainly mistaken in saying it was a gift from Governor Belcher.

spirit that would have marked his administration had he lived pervades the baccalaureate he preached in September, 1760, his second and last, and the only one he published. The experience of his early days in Virginia had made him an eager defender of civil and religious liberty, a thorough patriot in the colonial sense of the word, and his address to his graduating class on "Religion and Public Spirit" is shot through with the light of the new Americanism. Whether they became ministers, or lawyers, or doctors, or chose the serene and quiet pleasures of private life in retirement, "whatever, I say, be your Place . . . imbibe and cherish a public spirit. Serve your generation. Live not for yourselves but the public. Be the servants of the Church; the servants of your country; the servants of all. . . . Esteem yourselves by so much the more happy, honourable and important, by how much the more useful you are. Let your own ease, your own pleasure, your own private interests, yield to the common good." And further on is the reminder that "a college education does only lay the foundation; on which to build must be the business of your future life." In choosing a profession he advises his hearers to follow their natural inclination and to consult the public good—"fix upon that which is most agreeable to your natural Turn, which in some measure is equal to your Abilities, and may be more conducive to the service of your generation." And, pleading for alumni loyalty, he begs his hearers not to let Alma Mater drop entirely out of mind. It is an unmistakable mark of his clear-sightedness that he should ask for the alumni loyalty on which the majority of privately endowed colleges must depend—the loyalty that is not satisfied with merely looking backward, but which reaches forward, expectant of the

future, loyalty to a living and ambitious hope based on an honored past.

President Davies died of pneumonia in February, 1761, having been president a little over eighteen months. Born in Delaware in 1724, of Welsh descent and humble parentage, he had been trained in Samuel Blair's school at Faggs Manor in Pennsylvania. Bereavement had cast a shadow over his early life, and yet his desire to serve his church was so great that when he went down to Virginia and settled as a missionary near Richmond he soon gained an influence greater than that of any other preacher in the region. According to some, he was the animating soul of the whole dissenting interest in Virginia and North Carolina. Here was a man of singular charm and persuasiveness. As a pulpit orator he was probably unequaled in his day. His sermons were more read than those of any divine for half a century after his death. Nine editions of his works were issued in England before the close of the eighteenth century, and four American editions were exhausted before the middle of the nineteenth. That he had not only overcome his fears for himself, but had surpassed the hopes of his best friends, is amply shown in the letters of the time. "You can hardly conceive what prodigious uncommon gifts Heaven had bestowed on that man," wrote Mr. David Bostwick of New York to Dr. Joseph Bellamy; and the most eloquent testimony to public opinion of him is found in the action of the people of Philadelphia, who subscribed £95 per annum for five years to complete the education of his three sons at Princeton, while Philadelphia and New York friends raised between £400 and £500 for his widow and two daughters.

President Davies' successor was the Reverend Sam-

uel Finley, who had been a trustee from 1746 to 1748, and again from 1751, and who had been nominated for the presidency on Mr. Edwards' death. A quorum of trustees hurriedly collected by express messengers elected him in June, 1761, and in July he reached Princeton and was received in the prayer-hall by the College with proper ceremony.[1] He delivered his Latin inaugural at commencement, "'and the Composition was made up with such Purity of Diction; flowing and harmonious Periods; the Pronunciation so exact and elegant; that no one but so great a Master of the Roman Language as this Gentleman evidently is, could have effected it.''[2]

Dr. Finley's administration showed no striking changes in the requirements for admission or in the course of study. He did nothing toward extending the improvements suggested by Davies, and at the end of his administration it was boldly asserted in some quarters that since Burr's death no advance had been made. Nevertheless, by 1764 there were one hundred and twenty students in college, and it was officially stated that if the increase continued at the rate of the last three years an additional building would be a necessity. The pamphlet in which this statement occurs was the account of the College which for several years the board had been planning to publish. President Finley was requested to take it up, but he turned the task over to Mr. Samuel Blair, the orator on George II and now a college tutor, and it was published in 1764 by Mr. Parker at Woodbridge, the best contemporary statement that we possess of the history, curriculum, and life of the College.

[1] New Jersey Archives, 1st series, Vol. XX, p. 596.

[2] *Penna. Journal*, October 8, 1761. New Jersey Archives, 1st series, Vol. XX, p. 616.

But while President Finley made no marked changes in the curriculum, he instituted in the three lower classes a system of quarterly examinations and he improved the efficiency of the preparation obtainable at the grammar school by establishing in 1763, under a separate master, an English department to teach " young lads to write well, to cipher, and to pronounce and read the English tongue with accuracy and precision." The chief endeavor of the grammar school had hitherto been the acquisition of the rudiments of Latin and Greek, " the graces of a good delivery," and " improving handwriting," to which art a small portion of each day had been devoted.[1] The presence of the English school was before long voted " an inconvenience," and it was ordered that it be carried on outside of the College.

In 1764, through hidden influence not explained, the provincial legislature was at last induced to authorize a lottery for the benefit of the College.[2] It was drawn

[1] The grammar school had been begun by Mr. Burr in Newark and had been brought to Princeton by him and, by special vote of the board, had under each administration been the special care and perquisite of the president. It was for this school that Burr had prepared a Latin grammar known as the " Newark Grammar " which, in its second edition, was published by the trustees " principally for the Use of the Grammar School at Nassau Hall " and was recommended to all who intended to send their sons to Princeton.

[2] The first lottery for the benefit of the College was drawn at Philadelphia in July, 1748. In 1750 another was advertised to be drawn in April, for which 8,000 tickets were sold at 30s. each, the prizes being worth from 2s. 10d. to £500, from which a twelve and a half per cent. deduction was to be made to net the College £1,500. In 1753 a lottery was announced to be drawn at Stamford, Connecticut, called the Connecticut lottery, for which 8,888 tickets at 30s. were to be offered. This lottery was postponed a year and then apparently given up. In 1758 a fourth lottery was planned to raise £600, but did not get beyond preliminary stages. The next was held at Philadelphia in September, 1761, when 10,000 tickets were put on sale at " four dollars " each. Then followed Finley's lottery of 1764. The seventh and last was held in 1772 at New Castle, Delaware, and

in Nassau Hall, 13,333 tickets at 30s. each being offered. The legislature had authorized a lottery to raise not more than £3,000, and the manager of the lottery planned to clear £2,999 18s. 6d., or eighteenpence short of the limit. As most of the tickets were sold on credit, prize-winners were requested to " forbear " demanding their money for a few weeks, as " some time will be necessarily required to collect the Cash." Much of that cash still remained uncollected in 1767.[1]

New presidents had followed one another to the headship of the College scarcely faster than new governors had come to the troubled province. But the successive arrivals of representatives of the Crown had afforded the trustees of the College opportunities of expressions of policy which were significant in form as well as in content. The humble address of the trustees to each new governor, as the constituted president of the board, indicates clearly the broad view they were taking of the purpose of the College. President Davies, speaking for the faculty at a reception to Governor Boone in Nassau Hall in July, 1760, assured his excellency that " we shall continue with the utmost assiduity to instill into young minds such principles as thro' the blessing of Heaven form the Scholar, the Patriot, and the Chris-

was known as the Delaware Lottery. In this lottery a controversy arose over one of the large prizes, which apparently the college authorities could not pay owing to a lack of ready cash. The matter was still pending in 1780, and was eventually compromised. These disagreeable circumstances led to the abandonment of the lottery method of raising funds, although the ethical objection does not seem to have carried any weight. In President Green's time the state legislature was petitioned to allow another lottery for the College, and refused. Since then the public has not been invited to spend its money on Princeton in just that way. As the treasurer's books have been destroyed, no record of the actual results to the College is available.

[1] See New Jersey Archives, 1st series, Vols. XII, XIX, XX, XXIV, XXV, *passim*.

tian." Two years later the board assured Governor Hardy that the "general Principle of preparing youth for public service in Church and State, and making them useful members of Society, without concerning ourselves about their particular religious denomination is our Grand Idea." And in 1763, when Governor Franklin appeared at his first Princeton commencement, the board repeated that they had endeavored to conduct the College "in such a manner as to make it of the most general and extensive usefulness. 'Our idea is to send into the World good Scholars and successful Members of Society." The form of these addresses shows a growing change of attitude toward the Crown. One does not have to be reminded that the times were times of political unrest, and in Nassau Hall there was already stirring a spirit which foretold the exciting days to come. The address of the president and tutors to Governor Franklin on his visit to Princeton in March, 1763, informs him that the design and tendency of the College was "to promote the general Good of mankind, by forming our Pupils for the Service of their Country" and assures him that they will "instil into their Minds, Principles of Loyalty to the best of Kings, a firm Attachment to the most excellent British Constitution and a Sacred Regard to the Cause of Religion and Liberty." But it is significant, as Dr. DeWitt has pointed out,[1] that in the trustees' address that September they omitted the customary protestation of loyalty; the Crown is not even mentioned. The address is so short that it verges on curtness; and it closes with a perfunctory expression of cordial wishes for the governor's public and domestic happiness, and for his peace, comfort, and

[1] "Princeton College Administrations in the Eighteenth Century," *Presby. and Ref. Rev.*, July, 1897, p. 408.

usefulness in the administration of the province—wishes whose realization he was to need sadly in the coming thirteen years of his service. And the undergraduates did not lag behind the trustees in the new sentiment of the times. Of the commencement exercises in 1765, for example, the *Pennsylvania Journal* remarked "we cannot but do the young gentlemen the justice to observe that such a spirit of liberty and tender regard for their suffering country breathed in their several performances, as gave an inexpressible pleasure to a very crowded assembly." Among the exercises on the programme were an oration on "Liberty," pronounced by Mr. Jacob Rush; a dialogue also on "Liberty," and the valedictory had as its subject, "Patriotism." The graduating class agreed to appear on the commencement platform in clothes of American manufacture, and they persuaded their undergraduate fellows to follow their example.

The trustees in 1766 drew up an address to His Majesty for his "gracious condescension in repealing the Stamp Act" and, ever mindful of the chance to increase the equipment, added a petition for a grant of 60,000 acres of land in the Province of New York from lands recently added from the Province of New Hampshire. Mr. Richard Stockton, the Princeton lawyer and now a trustee, presented the address and petition at London. The address was graciously received by His Majesty; and the petition was comfortably pigeonholed in the Plantation Office, and has only recently been disinterred among the papers of the Privy Council Office. Its authors never heard of it again.

Except for this and a proposal to appoint a Dutch professor of divinity, a proposal no sooner made than laid on the table, the records of President Finley's ad-

ministration are largely those of quiet growth in the student body, and of improvements to college property and equipment, such as planting shade trees,[1] two of which are still thriving in the yard of the dean of the faculty's house; digging an additional college well; building a new kitchen; providing a fire engine, ladders, and buckets; charging a small sum quarterly for enlarging the library; requiring each entering student to give bond for punctual payment of his fees and charges, and similar minor but useful matters. Dr. Finley enjoyed reputation abroad; he had taught for many years—his academy at Nottingham was one of the early famous schools—he was the first Princeton officer and the second American divine to receive an honorary degree from a British university, Glasgow conferring on him the degree of doctor of divinity. But he was probably already in the grip of mortal disease when he became president, and in July, 1766, he died at Philadelphia, whither he had gone for medical aid, and where he was buried. He and Mr. Dickinson are the two deceased presidents of the College not lying in the Princeton graveyard. His death closes the Colonial Period in the history of Princeton University.

[1] These are the trees which it has so often been said were planted to commemorate the repeal of the Stamp Act. But unless one ascribe to the trustees the gift of prophecy the claim can have no justification. The trees were ordered the year before the Stamp Act was repealed.

III

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Presidency of Witherspoon. The Revolution. Campus Happenings. The Continental Congress at Princeton. The College Under Witherspoon. Princeton and the South. Witherspoon's Influence.

PRINCETON'S president during the Revolutionary period was unlike any of his predecessors. Not winsome like Burr, nor so intellectual as Edwards, nor so finished a speaker as Dickinson or Davies, and lacking even the teacher's experience that Finley possessed, he was nevertheless to be a stronger and more effective man than any of these, a man to whom the headship of the College was to be only one of several opportunities for virile leadership. The colonial presidents belonged to a different age; they were of a different stripe. Under the guidance of any one of them, with the possible exception of Davies, the College would have emerged from the storm of the Revolution in very different fashion, if indeed it would have emerged at all. Even granting that the preparation of young men for public affairs as well as for the church had been their interpretation of the purpose of the College, Davies alone seems to have shown any genuine insight into the possible relations of the College to the future of the colonies or any clear prevision of its potential national destiny. To the colonial presidents their office was a more than solemn matter; it was almost melancholy. They were unable to rise above it, and with the exception of Edwards, who never completely donned the presidential harness, the

labors and responsibilities of the office sent each to an early grave. Dickinson died at the age of fifty-nine, after a presidency of less than a year; Burr at forty-one, after a presidency of ten years; Davies at thirty-eight after eighteen months, and Finley at fifty-one after five years as president. Dr. Witherspoon's administration was to differ from those of his predecessors in temper, in breadth of contact with current affairs, in effectiveness, and in length. Its history is inseparably bound up with the story of his own multifarious activities.

Any unbiased contemporary observer appraising the standing and prospects of the College in 1766 would have admitted that it was no longer the uncertain project of a handful of enthusiasts, but had grown into a permanent enterprise. Already it had on its roster of presidents a series of names which were guarantee of high purpose, and it was by common consent agreed to be the leading educational institution with which at least American Presbyterianism was concerned. Whether it had measured up to expectations during the twenty years of its existence depended on the point of view. If it had failures to regret, they were due largely to lack of the funds necessary to more ambitious achievement.

When Dr. Finley died the schism in the Presbyterian Church had been healed outwardly and the two rival synods of New York and Philadelphia were once more united, the former representing the "New Side," the latter the "Old Side," and together composing the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. The Old Side party had never had any share in the management of the College. The affluence and importance of its members seemed to justify representation and the death of President Finley afforded the opportunity they sought.

They, therefore, prepared what on the face of it appeared to be a very generous proposal. Briefly stated, in return for the election of a president of their choosing and the appointment of a genuine faculty of professors—something the College had not yet been able to afford, tutors being the only assistance the presidents had received—they would guarantee financial help for a term of years and the immediate collection of other funds. The plan was to be sprung on the board of trustees at the meeting in 1766, at which a successor to Finley would be elected. But it leaked out, and the trustees took prompt action. They valued their freedom more than the prospect of funds; after twenty years of possession they did not intend to let the College slip out of their grasp. Lurking behind the offer was the specter of synodical control, which was directly antagonistic to the spirit of the founders. And when the Philadelphia overture, backed by an impressive delegation of lay and clerical supporters, was brought to Princeton to be laid before the board, its advocates discovered that the trustees had already chosen a president, and that, while appreciating the generosity of the Old Side's financial offer, they felt it inadvisable to elect a faculty of professors until the money to pay their salaries was actually in the College treasury.

By what process the trustees had come to elect as their head John Witherspoon, minister of the gospel at Paisley in Scotland, has never been learned. The choice seems to indicate that they had decided it was time to inject new vitality into the presidency. They had watched four presidents die in less than nine years; it is recorded that they saw no satisfactory candidates in the American church; and it had not taken them long

to find their man in the Scottish church. His name was known to most American divines as that of a leader of the conservative party in the Scottish General Assembly; he was the author of a few strongly evangelical sermons and of two or three strictly orthodox theological treatises; an essay of his, replying to Lord Kames and defending what was eventually to be the Scottish philosophy of realism, had reached those who subscribed to the *Scots Magazine* and who were admitted to the secret of his pseudonym; and he had shown in a piece of satire on his opponents in the Church of Scotland, which went through several editions, that he had a keen sense of humor. That the trustees of 1767 were attracted by this last quality it would be worse than foolish to assert; rather were they caught by the fact that Dr. Witherspoon was a graduate of Edinburgh in arts and theology, that St. Andrews had made him a doctor of divinity, that he was a man of undoubted piety, of strict orthodoxy, and of marked pastoral ability. Whether he had any special gifts as a teacher or as an academic administrator seems to have been considered negligible; if he possessed them he had never had an opportunity for their display. But it was known that he had exercised unusual influence over the young people in his parishes; and his prominence in the councils of the Scottish church was guarantee of his mental equipment. In addition to his intellectual and moral qualifications, the activity of his career suggested that he was of tougher physical fiber than the average Princeton president had shown himself to be; and, with all due submission to the will of an inscrutable Providence, the frequency of breakdown and premature death in the headship of the College must have become discouraging to even the most patient members of the board.

The Philadelphians took their defeat in good part, most generous of all being Dr. Francis Allison, who had been slated for the presidency. It was almost unanimously conceded that, if Dr. Witherspoon proved to be made of the right stuff, he might heal all the troubles of American Presbyterianism; he would certainly be an invaluable accession to the forces of the colonial non-Anglican church; and his decision was awaited with hopefulness by the majority and with curiosity by all. To be sure, a petty and despicable attempt to influence his decision unfavorably was made by one disgruntled group, but Mr. Richard Stockton of the class of 1748, who was in England, and Benjamin Rush of 1760, then an emotional young Princetonian studying medicine at Edinburgh, were able to set his mind at rest, and he thought favorably of the offer. But Mrs. Witherspoon flatly refused to leave her native land, and her dutiful husband was compelled to decline the election.

At the October meeting of the board, in 1767, when this decision was received the Philadelphia party renewed their proposal in regard to the appointment of a faculty, and the trustees in conciliatory mood accordingly elected three professors—Dr. Hugh Williamson of Philadelphia, to the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy; the Reverend John Blair of Faggs Manor, a trustee, to the chair of divinity and moral philosophy, and to the chair of languages and logic young Mr. Jonathan Edwards, a tutor, and the son of the former president. The presidency itself, with the chair of rhetoric and metaphysics, they gave to young Samuel Blair of Boston, the former tutor and a nephew of the newly elected professor of divinity. The understanding was that these elections, saving the presidency, should not

go into effect for a year, or until the board should be able to supply the salaries: £125 for the professor of languages and logic, £150 for the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, £175 for the professor of divinity and moral philosophy, and £200 for the professor of rhetoric and metaphysics—all salaries being estimated in proclamation money. And to the trusteeship, left vacant by the appointment of Professor Blair, they elected an Old Side representative, the Reverend William Kirkpatrick of Amwell, New Jersey. Only one of these professorships—that of divinity—was actually occupied, and when Blair resigned the former plans were laid over, and Dr. Witherspoon was given a clean slate to fill.

Samuel Blair was twenty-six years old; he had been graduated from Princeton in 1760, had been a tutor under Finley for three years, and was the first alumnus elected to the presidency. Hearing that there were objections to him on account of his youth, he declined the election, and the more gracefully since it was rumored that Dr. Witherspoon might reconsider; for it turned out that Mrs. Witherspoon had changed her mind. Mr. Blair's declination and Dr. Witherspoon's hint that he would accept a second election were received together, and there was obviously only one thing for the board to do. As a result, in August, 1768, Dr. Witherspoon, with wife and family, landed at Philadelphia, and a few days later reached Princeton. The tutors and students escorted him from the East and West Jersey province line into the village, and Nassau Hall that night was illuminated with candles in every window.

The president found the College needing at each turn a leadership like the one he discovered he had the

power to supply. In 1767 the total financial resources of the institution amounted to £2,815 3s. 5d., of which only £950 was drawing interest; but with superb confidence the board in 1768 fixed the president's salary at £350 proclamation money, equivalent to £206 sterling. The College needed students and their tuition fees, and it needed money gifts, both of which could be obtained only by seeking; it needed enlargement of curriculum and faculty as well as widening of clientèle; it needed business methods in its financial administration. Most interesting to the stranger must have been the political atmosphere in which he found himself plunged. A process was going on whose character is illustrated by the fact that in 1761 one of the Princeton commencement pieces had been "The Military Glory of Great Britain," while in 1771 a similar commencement piece was to be "The Rising Glory of America." Between those dates lies the story of an awakening, the fullness of which Dr. Witherspoon was to witness and in part help to produce. He had led a party in the Scottish church which was fighting for popular rights against aristocratic power, against patronage, against ecclesiastical oppression; and he found here a college whose undergraduates and officers, in spite of professed loyalty to the British Crown, were growing steadily cooler toward it, and who were openly indorsing at every commencement the new political theories of the colonies. He himself when he reached America had no preconceived notions, save the conventional British ones, as to the relation of Crown to colony, and it is not within the province of these pages to trace his development into a full-fledged progressive American. But he soon perceived that he had fallen upon a bigger opportunity and was assuming graver responsibility than he had expected. For the

time being, he attended strictly to the business of the College. The financial situation received his immediate consideration. Careless of precedent, he was a century in advance of his time in recognizing that an American college head could not stay at home in his study. He saw at once that the reputation which had preceded him was valuable stock in trade which could be turned to advantage, and he had scarcely unpacked the three hundred volumes he brought over for the college library before he began the series of tours up and down the colonies which was not to end save with his life.

Before he started on his first foraging expedition—on which he wrung over £1,000 from Boston alone—he laid hold on the newly re-established grammar school in Nassau Hall and took steps to improve its efficiency. Finding a man of the right stripe in young William Churchill Houston of the college senior class, he installed him as master, kept him under supervision, taught him new methods, introduced new text-books and new studies. Enlisting the power of the press, and without sacrifice of dignity, he assumed a similar paternal attitude toward the public and began the novel practice of taking that public into his confidence on the matter of elementary education, by open letters to the newspapers suggesting to parents, guardians, and schoolmasters methods to pursue in preparing boys for his college. In these letters there was a dash of inextinguishable humor, the gift no Princeton president had had before him, the gift none was to have for a century after him. He had the knack of inspiring confidence, and the material results were immediate in the increase of students and the acquisition of funds.

The college equipment in experimental science was

also given speedy attention, and in 1769, "the Board having taken into consideration the great want of a Philosophical Apparatus for the use of the Students in this College in Natural Philosophy of which it has long been destitute," a committee of seven members of the board was empowered to order £250 worth of apparatus. The following spring, unaided, the president negotiated with Mr. David Rittenhouse for his celebrated orrery, the most marvelous contrivance of the age, and brought it to Princeton, chuckling softly at the chagrin of the authorities of the College of Philadelphia who had thought the prize already theirs.

Professor Blair having resigned the chair of divinity, Dr. Witherspoon assumed its duties and entered at once on plans for enlarging the faculty along the lines contemplated before his arrival; and in 1771 a humble start was made by establishing a chair of mathematics and natural philosophy and placing William Churchill Houston in charge.

A vigorous campaign in the West Indies was next planned, and for it the president wrote his well-known "Address,"[1] speedily finding himself involved in a warm newspaper controversy on account of it. But it was all so much grist for his mill. Boys were coming to his grammar school and students to his college; money was being gathered through the colonies by individuals, by churches, by presbyteries; the College was becoming widely known, and it seemed as if his plans for expansion were in a fair way to be realized, when 1776 arrived and with that fateful year not only a halt to progress, but the practical annihilation of the resources of the College and the ruin of its material equipment.

[1] "Address to the Inhabitants of Jamaica and Other West India Islands," Philadelphia, 1772.

The blow that the Revolution dealt Princeton did not fall without warning. At the first commencement over which Dr. Witherspoon presided he had heard ominous political propositions discussed on the platform by the young men to whom he was to give diplomas. Commencement oratory during his régime became so pronounced in its anti-British tone that more than once it drew forth public remonstrance from objectors whose loyalty to the mother country could not brook the radical sentiments of the new "patriotism," and least of all when they proceeded out of the mouths of academic babes and sucklings, taught by a man but lately landed on American soil. Dr. Witherspoon soon heard himself accused of teaching disloyalty to his pupils. That he looked over their orations is indubitable; college law required it, and public speaking held prominent place in his theory of the curriculum; he even wrote some of their Latin discourses, for at Princeton in those days, as perhaps elsewhere, commencement orations were not expected to be the original production of their speakers. But student interest in public affairs was not confined to the rostrum. Dr. Witherspoon had been in office just two years when he witnessed a typical scene on the campus. One day in July, 1770, the letter of the recreant New York merchants, inviting Philadelphia merchants to follow their example in breaking the non-importation agreement, came through Princeton. The undergraduates seized it and, "fired with a just Indignation on reading the infamous Letter, . . . at the tolling of the College Bell, went in Procession to a Place fronting the College, and burnt the Letter by the Hands of a Hangman, hired for the Purpose, with hearty Wishes, that the Names of all Promoters of such a daring Breach of Faith, may be blasted in the Eyes of every

Lover of Liberty, and their Names handed down to Posterity as Betrayers of their Country.'' [1]

At commencement that September the entire graduating class again proudly wore American cloth, according to a unanimous decision reached in July and duly commented on in the *New York Gazette* of July 30 [2]; and the orations were more than usually pointed. The occasion was marked by '' grandeur and Decorum,'' declared a writer in the *Pennsylvania Gazette.* '' That truly noble and patriotic Spirit which inflames the Breasts of those who are the real Lovers of their Country seems already implanted in theirs [the students']. . . . What too sanguine Hopes can we have of those Gentlemen, and such Principles so early instilled in them! ''

When in due course the tea question came up the students expressed their opinion just as plainly, and one night in January, 1774, burst into the college storeroom, seized the winter's supply of tea, raided the students' rooms for private stores, and, gathering all they found, made a bonfire of it in front of Nassau Hall, with an effigy of Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts at the heart of the pile to give it body as well as meaning, the college bell tolling again, and the boys making '' many spirited resolves.'' [3]

It does not appear that Dr. Witherspoon attempted to check these evidences of youthful enthusiasm. In fact, by this time he had become an American, as he put

[1] Letter from Princeton, July 13, 1770, in *New York Gazette,* July 16, 1770. New Jersey Archives, 1st series, Vol. XXVII, p. 203.

[2] N. J. Archives, 1st ser., Vol. XXVII, p. 209.

[3] Letter of C. C. Beatty, class of 1775, to Enoch Green, Jan. 31, 1774. Library of Princeton University.

it, and was keeping in close touch with the progress of ideas and events. During the summer of 1774 the delegates to the Congress of that September came from the north and east through Princeton on their way to Philadelphia, and one of them, Mr. John Adams, has left in his diary an oft-quoted account of the impressions he gained of the political sentiments of the College and its president. In the following May the latter wrote for the Committee of the Synod to the congregations within its bounds the admirable "Pastoral Letter" on the political situation; in September he preached his trenchant baccalaureate on "Christian Magnanimity," and in May, 1776, his well-known fast-day sermon on the "Dominion of Providence," wherein for the first time he publicly defined his position; and later that month, with four other clergymen, he allowed himself to be named as a candidate for election to the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, much to the displeasure of those who felt that ministers should not meddle with politics. He had scarcely taken his seat as a delegate in this body when he found himself chosen, not unwillingly, a delegate from the Province of New Jersey to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and for the next six years he was more or less a college president *in absentia.*

He was in Congress when the resolution and the declaration of independence were passed, and late that summer he signed the engrossed copy of the latter document. Nassau Hall was illuminated when the news of the declaration of independence was read on the evening of July 9, and independence was proclaimed amid volleys of musketry and with universal acclamation. It had been an exciting spring in College, and one suspects that scant attention was paid to the business of educa-

tion. The president was deep in politics, and frequently away. Against his wishes—for he did not think the time had yet arrived for college boys to join the army—a company of volunteers had been formed among the undergraduates and had marched away to enlist, some of those who were seniors coming back for their degrees at commencement. American troops passing through the village had been quartered in unoccupied portions of Nassau Hall and had added to the general confusion. Professor Houston had accepted a captaincy in the local militia and had been dividing his time between collegiate and military duties. He resigned his commission in August, 1777, for the interesting reason that he found he could not give proper attention to his company on account of increased academic duties in the absence of the president.

To him and to the tutors Dr. Witherspoon had intrusted the care of the College when he rode away in July, 1776, to take his seat in Congress. His intention was to visit Princeton as often as he could, and in carrying it out he was aided by his frequent appointment on congressional committees, whose work entailed traveling. It was a rare journey that did not allow him to turn up eventually at Princeton. One of his first errands of this kind sent him to Washington's camp early in November, 1776. He saw enough into the future to make him reach a prudent decision in regard to the College; and as he came through Princeton on his return, although the winter term had just opened, he assembled the students in the prayer-hall, pointed out the gravity of their situation in the very path of the oncoming British, and in a few solemn words disbanded College. A contemporary diary tells how hastily

the students scattered,[1] and a letter of Dr. Witherspoon to one of his sons describes how he bore his family away to safety. A little later Nassau Hall fell an easy prey to an enemy whose mood was plainly retaliatory. What with its use as barracks and hospital, first by the British and Hessians and, after the battle of Princeton, by every passing body of American troops, five years were to elapse before the authorities regained sole possession of the building, and almost twice as many before they could even partially make good the damage begun by the enemy and completed by their successors. Workmen were still employed on Nassau Hall when the nineteenth century dawned. On January 3, 1777, the date of the battle of Princeton, Nassau Hall changed hands three times. At dawn it was a British stronghold; later in the morning it was surrendered to Washington's victorious troops, who remained only long enough to seize prisoners and destroy booty, leaving the building to be reoccupied by the British, who had hastened back from Maidenhead (Lawrenceville) and Trenton. And when the enemy passed on in desperate hurry to reach New Brunswick and the base of supplies, the battered shell of a college building was left deserted for General Putnam with a large American force to occupy later in the month as a barracks, a hospital, and a military prison. During the closing engagement of the battle on January 3, a couple of round shot were fired at it by an

[1] One of them, James Ashton Bayard of the class of 1777, son of Colonel John Bayard of Philadelphia, on his way home to his parents was caught by a party of British troops, pronounced a rebel and the son of a rebel, flung into a Philadelphia prison, and condemned to be hanged as a spy. His mother secured an interview with Sir William Howe, and Washington also intervened; and at the last moment, as he stood awaiting his doom with a halter around his neck, the boy was released. (J. G. Wilson, "Life of Col. John Bayard," *N. Y. Gen. and Biog. Record*, Vol. XVI, p. 60.)

American battery commanded by Alexander Hamilton, who, it is said, had as a would-be student once sought to enter the college whose building he was now bombarding. One of these shot ripped up the ceiling of the dismantled prayer-hall, and another struck the portrait of George II, giving a last touch to the wreck of the apartment.

Dr. Witherspoon endeavored to open college again in May, 1777, announcing, however, that the session would probably begin at a safer place than Princeton; but it was not until July that exercises were resumed and then with only a handful of students. Nassau Hall was in such condition that recitations had to be held in the president's house, instruction being given by Professor Houston and a tutor, with the president's incidental assistance. There was no money in the treasury for repairs, and recitations continued in the president's house during the winter of 1777-78. During the year 1778-79 Mr. Houston carried on the teaching alone. Commencement had been held as usual, but the conferring of degrees was postponed. Temporary repairs having been begun, recitations in Nassau Hall were once more possible, and a few students were even able to live in the building. In the spring of 1779 there were thirty boys in the grammar school—clear testimony of public confidence in Dr. Witherspoon; but for the greater part of the year the number of undergraduates scarcely reached double figures. There are no annual catalogues from which to obtain the current roll of students; but in 1776 the graduating class had numbered twenty-seven; in 1777 it numbered seven; and during the next five years it averaged six. After 1782 the size of the graduating class slowly increased, averaging twenty, with the largest class on record, thirty-seven, in 1792. In December,

1779, the president's son-in-law, Samuel Stanhope Smith, was added to the faculty as professor of moral philosophy, Dr. Witherspoon relinquishing half his salary for the purpose. In 1780 prospects brightened. Students were coming to Princeton from various parts of the country, and some even from the West Indies. In October, 1780, there were seventeen or eighteen undergraduates, besides sixty or seventy grammar scholars.[1] The president and Professor Smith were now doing the teaching, while Professor Houston took President Witherspoon's place in Congress. In 1781 the trio shared the instruction, and after that date tutors were once more engaged.

But the College did not recover in Witherspoon's time from the material setback it had received. Investigation showed that sixty-six per cent. of the moneys collected by Tennent and Davies was wiped out in the Revolution and a conservative estimate of all losses, including damages, placed the total at not less than £10,000. The financial management, moreover, had for years been distinctly bad. Probably no system, however perfect, would have survived the war unscathed; but at Princeton there seems to have been little or no system at all. Interest was allowed on debts of the corporation, but frequently none was collected on debts due. No effort was made to increase capital in bank. Arrearages owed to the college were sometimes lost entirely because prompt collection was neglected. The result was that current expenses were often paid out of capital; and this condition had existed before the war. It is not surprising, therefore, that the story of the remaining years of Dr. Witherspoon's administration is the story of a constant struggle to secure sufficient funds to rehabilitate the college and to pay current salaries. Of the presi-

[1] Ezra Stiles, "Literary Diary," Vol. II, pp. 453, 488.

dent's own labors, of his personal sacrifices, of his generosities to needy students, this is not the place to speak; such matters belong rather to his biographer. No better testimony to the pitifully difficult situation could be found than the description of the campus by Moreau de St. Méry,[1] as he saw it in the spring of 1794, the last year of Dr. Witherspoon's life,—the ill-kept inclosure overgrown with weeds and littered with the dung of cattle that grazed on the rough turf,[2] the dismounted cannon, the dilapidated condition of the brick wall separating campus from street, the appearance of general decay and helpless poverty.

In the spring of 1782, when Nassau Hall ceased to be regarded as public property, a large portion of the building was still untenantable. The grammar school was housed in one room in the basement, and the refectory was temporarily located in another, while the forty students in residence occupied rooms in the central portion of the edifice.[3]

The rest of the building was mostly bare partition walls and heaps of fallen plaster. In an effort to get funds from Europe, the board in the winter of 1783-84 sent the president to England. But he had been too prominent in American affairs, his name had been trumpeted through Great Britain as that of a traitor; and he came back to Princeton with a balance of only five pounds and a few shillings above his expenses. In

[1] "Voyage aux Etats Unis de l'Amérique, 1793-1798." Edited by S. L. Mims. New Haven, 1913, p. 116.

[2] The pasturing right was rented out and not until 1845 was grazing and the driving of cattle through the campus to the meadows beyond forbidden.

[3] "My Room, though not yet furnished," wrote Peter Elmendorf of the class of 1782 on his arrival in 1781, "is decent, clean and nobly situated, we have the finest Prospect that ever can be desired." Letter in Library of Princeton University.

a further effort to raise money, an extra two pounds was levied on each student for room rent; Congress was petitioned to make a liberal grant of western land—but turned a deaf ear.

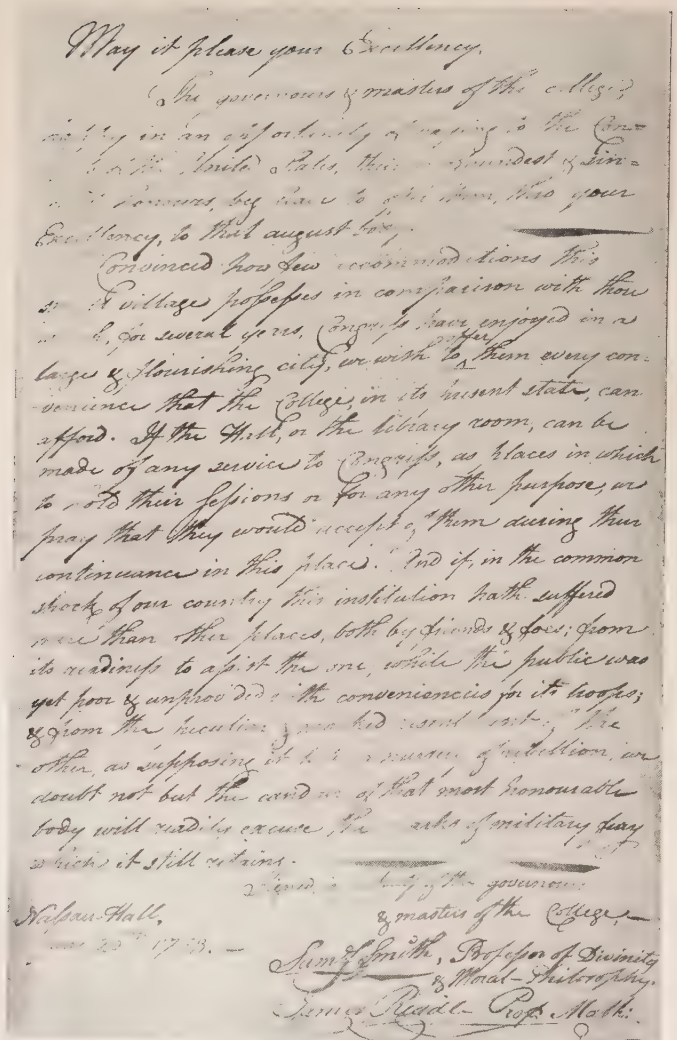
Money was, however, collected in trivial amounts, a hundred dollars here and two hundred there. And with supreme courage in the future the president began to strengthen his faculty. Ashbel Green of 1783, later the president of the college, was promoted in 1785 from a tutorship to the professorship of mathematics and natural philosophy, on the resignation of Houston. When Green resigned in 1787 Dr. Witherspoon put in his place Walter Minto, who had been educated at Edinburgh and before he ever reached America had become a mathematician of some note in Europe with astronomy as his specialty, and who at this date was head of the Academy at Flushing, Long Island. Meanwhile, the College was growing again. In 1786 there were ninety undergraduates and forty grammar scholars enrolled.[1] Dr. Witherspoon had come back from Europe in 1784 with heart as brave as ever. In spite of blindness, domestic bereavement, and private financial troubles, he continued public duties in college, church, and state practically until the year of his death. He presided at his last faculty meeting in September, 1794, and two months later, suddenly though not unexpectedly, died at Tusculum, the country seat he had built near Princeton. His body lay in state in Nassau Hall, and there the funeral exercises were held.

Although the picturesque accidents of history that go toward making local tradition cannot atone for academic ill-fortune, the College in Witherspoon's day at least witnessed them in plenty. Princeton seemed to lie in-

[1] Ezra Stiles, "Literary Diary," Vol. III, p. 235.

evitably in their path. Campus happenings like the "Princeton Tea Party" have been mentioned. In August, 1776, the first legislature of New Jersey under a state constitution met in the college library room above the entrance to Nassau Hall. Here the first governor of the State was inducted into office; here the Great Seal of the State was devised and adopted; and here the legislature sat until October. In November, 1777, the legislature returned to Princeton and remained a year. The council of safety organized by the provincial congress in 1776 had frequently met at Princeton. In 1779, when the Delaware chieftains came east to make their pact with the Continental Congress, they passed on to Princeton to consult their friend and sponsor, Colonel George Morgan, and pitched their camp on his side of the turf wall separating his model farm "Prospect" from college grounds. As a result of this conference three Indian boys, sons of chieftains, were left in Colonel Morgan's care, to be educated under Dr. Witherspoon at government expense. Evidences of their wrestlings with the art of penmanship, and official reports on their attempts to translate Cæsar into the vernacular are still on file among the papers of the Continental Congress. Only the youngest, George WhiteEyes, advanced into college, though he never reached the commencement platform. Ineradicable homesickness, coupled as the years went on with congressional neglect, ended his academic career in junior year, and ultimately he was sent home to his own people, not laureated, but at last happy once more.[1]

[1] The visit of the Delaware chieftains in 1779 was not the only occasion of the sort. One evening in the winter of 1805-06 word was passed around the college refectory during supper that a large party of Little Osage Indians had put up for the night at Princeton, and that President Smith was bringing them over to



May it please your Excellency.

The governours & masters of the college, happy in an opportunity of paying to the Congress of the United States, their [illegible] & sincerest honours, beg leave to offer them, thro' your Excellency, to that august body.

Convinced how few accommodations this small village possesses in comparison with those which, for several years, Congress have enjoyed in a large & flourishing city, we wish to offer them every convenience that the College, in its present state, can afford. If the Hall, or the library room, can be made of any service to Congress, as places in which to hold their sessions or for any other purpose, we pray that they would accept of them during their continuance in this place. And if, in the common shock of our country this institution hath suffered more than other places, both by friends & foes; from its readiness to assist the one, while the public was yet poor & unprovided with conveniencies for its troops; & from the peculiar & marked resentment of the other, as supposing it to be a nursery of rebellion, we doubt not but the candour of that most honourable body will readily excuse the marks of military fury which it still retains.

Signed in behalf of the governours & masters of the College,

Nassau-Hall,
June 20th 1783.

Sam. F. Smith, Professor of Divinity & Moral Philosophy.
James Riddle Prof. Math.

LETTER OF FACULTY TO PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS OFFERING USE OF NASSAU HALL, JUNE, 1783

In January, 1781, the mutinous Pennsylvania troops broke their march at Princeton and encamped on Colonel Morgan's grounds. Here it was that the parley took place between their leaders and the congressional committee, of which General Joseph Reed (1757) and President Witherspoon were members. And in September of the same year Rochambeau's army made Princeton a halting place on its march from Newport, Rhode Island, to join Lafayette at Yorktown.

Another and more serious mutiny turned Nassau Hall for a few brief months into a federal office building, and the village of Princeton into a gay and brilliant capital. For in June, 1783, the Continental Congress, frightened away from Philadelphia by a small band of mutineers, fled to Princeton and continued its session in Nassau Hall until November. Peace had been declared, and Congress was marking time until the arrival of the Definitive Treaty. But, although there was plenty to do, and a little serious business was indeed transacted, the stay of Congress at Princeton savored a good deal of a junketing party. Beside unofficial social activities, of which there were plenty, Congress honored each college function with its presence, attending in a body, for instance, that year's Fourth of July celebration and the commencement exercises in September. In August Washington moved his household to Princeton, making his headquarters at Rocky Hill, three miles from Princeton, and becoming a familiar figure in the neighborhood.

College and if the undergraduates behaved themselves he would introduce the visitors. The strangers were brought in and shown around; and then, to the infinite delight of the spectators, they performed a war-dance in the shadowy campus, and finally with a war-song, which to one collegian at least was "the most awful soul thrilling sound" he had ever heard, sang themselves home along the dark village street back to their tavern. (Cf. John Johnston, "Autobiography." New York, 1856, p. 75.)

In the prayer-hall he received, at a formal audience with Congress, the thanks of the nation for his conduct of the war. At commencement he was, of course, the marked guest, and with Congress sat on the platform and is said to have showed some embarrassment at the complimentary language of Ashbel Green, the valedictorian of the day. As evidence of his esteem he presented fifty guineas to the College, a gift which the trustees did not sink into the bottomless pit of repairs, but spent in commissioning Charles Wilson Peale to paint the General's portrait, placing it the next year in the frame that had held George the Second's unlucky likeness.[1]

In October the first authentic news of the signing of the Definitive Treaty of peace [2] was received by Congress just as it had assembled in the prayer-hall to welcome

[1] Princeton seems to have occupied a unique place in Washington's regard. His acquaintance with the village began in 1775 when he passed through it on his way to assume command of the army at Cambridge. In December, 1776, he hurried through it in his retreat across the State. The battle of January, 1777, brought him back. In 1783 he arrived to stay in the neighborhood until the autumn, town and gown welcoming him with an address. In April, 1789, on his way to New York to take the oath of office he spent a night at Princeton and once more received an address of welcome and congratulation, and in the following summer, returning from New York to Philadelphia, he spent an afternoon at Princeton. *Princeton University Bulletin*, Vol. XI, p. 54.

He held high opinion of Dr. Witherspoon and sought his advice in the education of George W. Parke Custis, his ward. To the latter in later years he wrote his opinion of Princeton and of Dr. Smith, Witherspoon's successor, when at last the boy became a student in Nassau Hall. And Princetonians are apt to remember with pride that Washington, as president of the United States, appointed Oliver Ellsworth, 1766, chief justice of the United States, William Paterson, 1763, a justice of the Supreme Court, and as his first two Attorneys General, William Bradford, 1774, and Charles Lee, 1775.

[2] The treaty itself was not received at Princeton as is so often claimed, and Mr. Boudinot, President of Congress while at Princeton, did not sign it. (Cf. Collins. "The Continental Congress at Princeton," Princeton, N. J., 1908, p. 231.)

in formal audience the Honorable Peter van Berckel, the first foreign minister accredited to the United States after independence had been acknowledged by Great Britain. In fact the summer and autumn of 1783 saw a constant stream of notable persons passing through Princeton under circumstances that must have been hopelessly distracting to undergraduates on study bent, if there were any. Those were gala days for the College, and golden days for house and tavern keepers.

But it is not alone incidents like these that give Dr. Witherspoon's administration distinction. How he contrived amid the innumerable calls that his public character as a churchman and a statesman brought him, to give any time or attention to academic duties must remain a marvel. And yet the fact is that he ever considered the College his first duty, and the results of his administration prove the efficiency of his service. Of the immediate improvement he made in the grammar school, mention has been already made. His changes in the college curriculum will be described in detail in a subsequent chapter, but it may be said here that he strengthened it in philosophical, literary, and historical lines. So completely did he win the confidence of his trustees that they gave him free hand in re-arranging the course of study. Aside from the changes he instituted in the curriculum, his influence was strongly felt in the transformation he effected in current philosophical thinking. For the Berkleyan idealism which he found popular in college on his arrival, he substituted by the force of his own criticism the philosophy of common sense, of which he became America's first great exponent, making Princeton the headquarters of a philosophical movement which was carried by her graduates across the Allegheny Mountains and down the Cumber-

land Valley into Virginia, Kentucky, and the great Southwest. Whether this movement proved to be an intellectual glacier, to borrow Professor Riley's phrase,[1] and the Princeton school of philosophy actually retarded the progress of American speculative thinking or not, is a question for philosophers to debate; Dr. Witherspoon's course in moral philosophy was at any rate the first course given in an American college in exposition of a definite philosophical system. His lectures on history, politics, and civil government were likewise novelties, and were eagerly listened to.

The general use of lectures under Witherspoon has led to the erroneous belief that he introduced this method of teaching at Princeton. But the lecture method was in use in President Burr's day. Dr. Witherspoon and Professor Minto largely extended its application, trained as they both were under Scottish disciplines. In Witherspoon's own courses he dictated a syllabus to his classes, filled in with comment and illustration the outline each student thus possessed, and then held recitations on the combination. It is in this syllabus form that his lectures on moral philosophy, jurisprudence, civics, literary criticism, and divinity have come down. The fact that his lectures on history have not been preserved even in this shape suggests that they were not dictated but were genuine lectures in the modern sense of the word. Obviously the bare outlines of the surviving lectures cannot begin to do justice to his courses. The method of their formation led to the development of a system known as "making studies," or written copies, of some especially good set of notes which came to be the standard and were sold or copied by one class after another. For

[1] I. W. Riley, "American Philosophy: The Early Schools," p. 478.

example, in 1801 John Johnston regretfully found himself compelled, as he says, to "make studies" of President Smith's lectures on moral philosophy and Professor Maclean's lectures on chemistry; and Amos Ellmaker of 1805 heartily congratulates himself that he has bought his "studies" for the next year—"I would not like to have to write my studies"—for the excellent undergraduate reason that "this season of the year [early spring] renders the health of the sedentary precarious."[1]

No scientist himself, Dr. Witherspoon nevertheless appreciated the value of experimental science, and his prompt effort to improve the college equipment in scientific apparatus has been pointed out. A similar consideration for science led him in 1787 to call Walter Minto to the chair of mathematics and experimental philosophy.

Particularly emphasizing in his curriculum the art of public speaking and the study of English, another trait of his Scottish training, he instituted the system of prize competitions held at commencement which lasted long after his time.

He also laid the foundation of a graduate department, such a man as he easily attracting his abler students to return for further study and advanced reading under his supervision and direction.

Discipline under Witherspoon was firm, but generous. He knew when to be stern and when to overlook. Confession of a breach of college law, made in a form drawn up by the faculty, entered in the minutes,[2] and

[1] Library of Princeton University.

Two seniors, Frederic Stone and Stephen Wayne, having got into a dispute and Stone having assaulted Wayne, after faculty investigation this entry in the minutes puts on record the settlement of the matter, under date of August 25, 1791: "The follow-

read by the culprit either in the presence of his class, or from his seat in chapel before the whole college,—in aggravated cases, from the chapel rostrum—always led to restoration to standing. One day a pan of dish-water set over a door in Nassau Hall as a trap for someone else fell upon the president's head, and when the practical joker came forth and his expectant mirth turned into trembling apologies, Dr. Witherspoon merely reminded him of the college law which forbade the casting of water of any kind into the entries or out of windows, and, shaking his drenched shoulders, passed on. The faculty's minutes of those days record that one night some students tied a calf in the prayer-hall pulpit; within a day or two three were expelled and two dismissed.

ing are copies of the confession & agreement Frederic Stone & Stephen Wayne made & signed in the presence of the faculty—

'I confess that I have been guilty of a flagrant violation of order & an offence against the peace & laws of the college in the attack which I lately made on Mr. Wayne my fellow student & I sincerely & unreservedly profess myself sorry for this offence. So impressed am I on this subject that I believe & acknowledge that the sentence adjudged in the case by the faculty is the most lenient they can accept in consistency with the peace & good government of the college. I do moreover if I have given offence to the faculty or any branch of it by neglect of duty or otherwise hereby make my acknowledgement & request them to forgive it. Frederic Stone.'

'Copy of the mutual agreement between Messieurs Wayne & Stone.

We Frederic Stone & Stephen Wayne do mutually promise to forget & forgive the subject of our late quarrel & the assault Frederic Stone made upon Stephen Wayne—And we do pledge ourselves before the faculty of the college & by our word & honour that we will never call it up or make it the ground of dispute or quarrel either while we continue subject to the laws of the college or afterwards in future life.

And I Stephen Wayne do agree to stop the proceedings begun in the case in the civil court.

And I Frederic Stone do agree to defray the expenses that have therein already accrued.

In witness of the above we have hereunto severally set our hands this 25th day of August A. D. 1791. Frederic Stone
Stephen Wayne.'"

Those who confessed with penitence were reinstated. But on another occasion, when a group of students declared themselves injured by a resolution of the faculty concerning a disturbance in which they had been implicated, and, therefore, demanded honorable dismissal, the president instantly retorted by announcing their summary expulsion; and not until retraction of the demand and an apology to president and faculty were forthcoming, would he so much as consider their penitent request for re-instatement.

Dr. Witherspoon was always willing to enter into the spirit of an occasion. On his second marriage a delegation of students went out to Tusculum to ask for a day's holiday to celebrate the event. The president invited the committee in to drink the bride's health, and sent them back to the campus with three days' liberty for the College instead of one.

He was possibly well aware that his scientific farming was the source of much quiet amusement among his students; but he shrewdly availed himself of his Tusculum estate as a safety-valve for their superfluous energy, and he had them help him work his garden and reap his fields.

Despite mediocrity of voice and stature, he had an air of authority that carried weight. Not given to much speech, there was a finality in his language when he did express himself that usually closed debate on ecclesiastical or legislative floors and which easily silenced opposition on occasions of college disorder.

Dr. Witherspoon was a great president, not for the actual progress the College made during his administration, nor merely for the improvements he introduced into the curriculum, but for the permanent influence he exerted on the young men who came beneath his sway.

He seized to the last shred the opportunity given him to illustrate the highest purposes of the College of New Jersey as he conceived them. "It would be absurd to pretend," said the Orator at Princeton's Sesquicentennial Celebration in 1896, "that we can distinguish Princeton's touch and method in the Revolution, or her distinctive handiwork in the Constitution of the Union. We can show nothing more of historical fact than that her own President took a great place of leadership in that time of change, and became one of the first figures of the age; that the college which he led, and to which he gave his spirit contributed more than her share of public men to the making of the nation, outranked her elder rivals in the roll call of the Constitutional Convention, and seemed for a little a seminary of statesmen rather than a quiet seat of academic learning."[1]

In his "Address to Jamaica and the West Indies" Witherspoon had said: "It has been and shall be our care to use every means in our power to make them [the students] good men and good scholars; and if this be the case I shall hear of their future character and usefulness with unfeigned satisfaction under every name by which a real Protestant can be distinguished." And here at least were an intention and a hope in which he was not to be disappointed.

He drew students from all ranks of society and from all parts of the country, and he ruled a heterogeneous body. In its numbers were boys from the most prominent families of the North and South—heirs to rich estates who expected some day to assume the responsibilities of their birth, boys like the Livingstons, the Lees, the Madisons, the Blackwells and Gardiners, the Van Cort-

[1] Woodrow Wilson, in "Memorial Book of the Sesquicentennial Celebration," p. 113.

landts and Van Rensselaers. With them were youths from humble homes, and sons of well known public and military men, boys from Santo Domingo and other West Indian islands, several French lads, at least three Delaware Indians of high rank, and two full-blooded negro freedmen, sons of rich African princes, who had been sold into slavery and were now preparing to return to Africa as missionaries. Philip Fithian wrote in 1772 that the College was filled with students " not only from almost every province in this continent, but we have also many from the *West Indies,* & some few from *Europe.*" [1]

Though the heterogeneity of the undergraduate body became more pronounced than ever under Witherspoon, it had always been a marked feature of the college; it was one form of its democracy, one of its ways of making good the claim that it was national rather than provincial or local. This heterogeneity also showed that, although religious influences brooded over the birth of the College and the Presbyterian Church in particular originally looked to it for its chief supply of ministers, nevertheless, as Dr. Ashbel Green long afterwards pointed out in his historical " Notes " objecting to a phrase he had heard applied to Princeton, the college was not, and was never intended to be, principally a " clerical manufactory." [2]

The success that Dr. Witherspoon's scouting expeditions in the South invariably met is easily explained. In earlier years the college had sent pioneer ministers into Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas. Among these were John Todd (1749), Hugh McAden (1753), Joseph Alexander (1760), Hezekiah J. Balch (1766), and David Caldwell (1761), names found

[1] " Journal and Letters," Princeton, 1900, p. 76.
[2] " Discourses," Philadelphia, 1822, p. 292.

at the very foundation of ecclesiastical and educational history in those States, and it was a simple matter for Witherspoon to glean for Princeton the fruitage of these pioneer influences among Southern families. During his administration the number of Southern students grew so rapidly that careless observers might have readily thought that here was a Southern college slipped from its geographical moorings. Moreau de St. Méry, for instance, said in 1794 that there were about eighty students in residence "chiefly from Virginia and the two Carolinas." This statement, though probably extreme, reflects the undoubtedly strong affiliation which existed even then and which lasted until the Civil War. By 1861 successive generations of Southern students had given the college a distinctive stamp among Northern institutions of learning, which not even war's cleavage could altogether eradicate. The influence of Princeton pioneers and of the constant stream of young men coming up to Nassau Hall and returning thence to careers in their own land was one of the most potent of the constructive forces in the early history of the South making for character and citizenship. And the men trained at institutions founded in the South by Princeton graduates not only became leaders of the people, in the pulpit, at the bar, on the bench, in the halls of legislature, and in the field against their country's foe, but left an indelible impression upon the general moral tone of their communities.[1] One of the most difficult tasks in Southern educational history, wrote the late Professor Herbert B. Adams,[2] was "to dislodge French philosophy from its

[1] Cf. J. G. Hibben, "Princeton and the South," in *Bachelor of Arts*, May, 1897.

[2] "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," U. S. Bureau of Education, Circ. of Information, No. 1. Washington, 1888; p. 28.

academic stronghold in North and South Carolina. It was done by a strong current of Scotch Presbyterianism proceeding from Princeton College southward." Opinions perhaps may differ as to whether this achievement, in its cultural effects, was an unqualified boon; but it is an illustration of the influence the College of New Jersey was exerting. And no president of Princeton gave greater impetus to that influence than Witherspoon. Of his sway over his undergraduates the testimony is plentiful. He had the amplest opportunity to exercise it; the relation between him and his pupils was one of closest intimacy.

Many of his students doubtless would have followed the paths they took during years that were to come even had a less compelling man than he been head of Princeton in their undergraduate days; but without the spur of his teaching and character many others would have lacked that intangible something which differentiates distinction from mediocrity. For instance, chance may explain the fact that nine of the twenty-five college graduates sent to the Federal Convention were Princetonians, but chance does not explain the further fact that five[1] of these nine were graduated under Witherspoon. Of the four hundred and sixty-nine men who received their diplomas at his hands, nearly twenty-five per cent. entered the ministry; two-thirds of these were graduated before 1776, when there were still eighteen years of Witherspoon's administration to run; and yet it was his boast, as he looked over the attendance of delegates at the first two or three General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, that a

[1] Pierpont Edwards (1768), James Madison (1771), Gunning Bedford (1771), Jonathan Dayton (1776), William R. Davie (1776).

majority of the members were not only Princetonians, but had studied their theology under him. They too had caught some of the spirit of leadership that made him great.

Dr. Witherspoon sent his full quota of ministers into the American church, but he did more. He gave the College national prominence. Among his graduates were a President and a Vice-President of the United States, nine cabinet officers, twenty-one United States Senators, thirty-nine United States Representatives, three Justices of the United States Supreme Court, twelve Governors of States, six members of the Continental Congress, and thirty-three Judges. Of the one hundred and eighty-nine men graduated in his first ten classes,—and alumni biographical records are very incomplete—at least sixty-five are positively known to have served in the Revolutionary War, twenty or more being officers. These figures do not include non-graduates, like Benjamin Hawkins and Nathaniel Macon of the class of 1777, to name but two of those who achieved prominence.

His influence was even greater in educational direction. Manuscript copies of his lectures were used in more than one new college, introduced by teachers who first heard them dictated in Nassau Hall and discussed by their author. How many private tutors and modest schoolmasters Princeton of that era sent forth into the South and Southwest we do not know; allusions to them are frequent in contemporary private correspondence; but of the nineteen of Witherspoon's graduates who reached exceptional academic distinction, thirteen became presidents of colleges in eight States of the Union; and, if we may accept a fairly common contemporary impression, the fact that a man had been graduated under

Witherspoon was sufficient guarantee of his training, as it was of his political faith. Princetonians of his breeding were either founders or first presidents of the following colleges: in Virginia, Hampden-Sidney and Washington; in Pennsylvania, Jefferson and Washington; in North Carolina, Queen's and the University of North Carolina; in South Carolina, Mount Zion; in Tennessee, Washington, Tusculum, Greenville, and the University of Nashville; in Kentucky, Transylvania; in Ohio, Ohio University; in New York, Union; and in New Jersey, Rutgers on its revival.

The class of 1773 was typical of the Princeton classes of the time. Thirteen of its twenty-nine members became clergymen, and fifteen of the twenty-nine supplied three surgeons, six officers, and one chaplain in the Revolutionary War, three members of the Continental Congress, two United States Representatives, one United States Senator, one chief justice of a State, three State Governors, five college presidents, and two moderators of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Prominence was awaiting several of their college contemporaries. In the class of 1770 were Frederick Frelinghuysen, colonel in the Revolutionary Army, brigadier general in the United States Army, member of the Continental Congress and of the New Jersey Provincial Congress, and United States Senator; Caleb Wallace, the Kentucky constitutional lawyer and judge of the Kentucky Supreme Court; John Taylor and Matthias Williamson, both officers in the Revolutionary War. In the class of 1771 were Gunning Bedford, Jr., the Delaware lawyer and member of Congress, H. H. Brackenridge, school-teacher, chaplain, author, and judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. A classmate and close friend was Philip Freneau, the future editor and

mariner, the poet of the Revolution, who scribbled verses in his navigation tables, and in his ephemeral satires and ballads sacrificed a distinct lyric gift to the sterner demands of the time. Dr. Charles McKnight, the army surgeon, belonged to this class, as did James Madison, the quiet scholar who was destined to reach the White House. And here too belongs Samuel Spring, a chaplain on Arnold's Canadian expedition, sharing the terrible trials of that experience with other Princetonians, two of whom were presidents' sons, each bearing his father's name—John Witherspoon, Jr., of 1773, a surgeon, and Aaron Burr, Jr., of 1772, a lieutenant and the future Vice President of the United States. The class of 1772 of twenty-two members furnished six army chaplains, a vice president of the United States, and one attorney general of the United States. Twelve of the twenty members of the class of 1774 served in the army, three as chaplains and the others as officers; one became a justice of the Supreme Court, and three became United States senators and congressmen. The class of 1775 of twenty-seven members produced a United States Attorney General, two members of Congress, two chief justices and three justices of State supreme courts; and among its chief distinctions were its two college presidents, Thomas Brown Craighead, who founded the University of Nashville, and Samuel Doak, the frontier missionary and scholar who packed the books for the library of Washington College in Tennessee five hundred miles over the mountains on an old "flea bitten grey horse," while he trudged behind. The log meeting-house he had built was the first church erected in Tennessee, and his log-cabin school had become Washington College, the first institution of the kind west of the Alleghenies.

After the Revolution few military names occur in the catalogue of eighteenth-century Princeton alumni, but there are still a number of distinguished public servants, such as James Ashton Bayard (1784), the United States Senator and diplomat; Peter Robert Livingston (1784), the New York legislator and lieutenant governor; Robert Goodloe Harper (1785), the soldier, and Senator Smith Thompson (1788), Chief Justice of the New York Supreme Court, Secretary of the Navy and for twenty years a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and college presidents like Robert Finley (1787), president of the University of Georgia, and his classmate E. D. Rattoone, president of Charleston College. Through graduates like these Dr. Witherspoon lifted the College of New Jersey into a position of honorable publicity it had never before occupied. The prestige it thus acquired was to endure for a generation after his death, and was to wane only under the less favoring spirit of succeeding administrations.

IV

PRINCETON BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

President Smith. Introduction of Science. Fire of 1802. The Trustees and Discipline. Riot of 1807. Founding of the Princeton Theological Seminary. President Green. The Cracker Era. The "Great Rebellion." President Carnahan. Lafayette's Visit. Nassau Hall Philological Society. The Lowest Ebb. John Maclean and Enlargement of the Faculty. Aaron Burr's Funeral. The Rape of the Cannon. The Law School. The Centennial. President Maclean. Fire of 1855. The Secret Society Crusade. The Civil War.

It was a foregone conclusion that Vice-President Smith, Dr. Witherspoon's son-in-law, would be his successor, and he was elected president in May, 1795. Graduated in 1769 at the age of nineteen, he had become in 1775 the first president of Hampden-Sidney College, and four years later had joined the faculty at Princeton. During the years of President Witherspoon's congressional service the general management of the college had been left in his care, and after 1786, when he was made vice president, the details of administration had been laid entirely upon his shoulders.

A completer contrast to Dr. Witherspoon could scarcely be imagined. He was one of those men who seem born to wear academic purple. Tall and slender, he added to natural dignity and to elegance of manner a winning personality, the attraction of good looks, and the gift of a splendid voice. He was famed for his ornate eloquence, his preaching being frankly imitative of the French school of pulpit orators.

Without being trained in science he seems to have felt the lure of scientific studies, and the introduction

of a purely scientific element into the curriculum was to be the most prominent feature of his administration. At commencement in 1795 a small fund collected at his request for the purchase of chemical apparatus was reported, and this, the earliest appropriation at Princeton for the teaching of chemistry, was immediately followed by the election of a professor of chemistry, the first to be appointed in America for undergraduate instruction.

The newcomer was a young and lately landed Scotsman named John Maclean, a doctor of medicine of Aberdeen, who had been attracted to chemistry in undergraduate days at Glasgow, and who had pursued his studies at these two Scottish universities and later at London and Paris. On coming to America he had been advised to settle as a medical practitioner at Princeton, and during the summer term of 1795 had been given the opportunity to deliver before the college a brief course of lectures on his favorite subject. So fully did he justify the high recommendations he brought with him, that President Smith eagerly invited him to join the faculty, of which he speedily became the most popular member. In the following year a professorship of natural history, this chair, too, the first of its kind in the country, was created and was given to Professor Maclean, who was commonly said to be equally at home in all the then known branches of science.[1]

This quick strengthening of the curriculum in science was a progressive step which President Smith and the board of his day felt they owed to the trust they held,—a trust of which they expressed their conception at this time in no doubtful terms. A strongly representative committee, on which both the governor of the State and

[1] It was Professor Maclean whom Silliman acknowledged as his earliest teacher of chemistry.

Dr. Smith served, had been appointed in January, 1796, to approach the legislature with a view to obtaining financial assistance for completion of repairs on Nassau Hall. A petition was presented, and an annual grant of £600 for three years was secured, the only State aid Princeton has ever received. Designed primarily as an argument for enlisting the interest of the legislature, the petition, which was written by President Smith, nevertheless was a declaration of the manifest destiny of the College not only in the commonwealth of New Jersey, but in the country at large. Dr. Witherspoon had bequeathed to the College an academic standing, a national reputation, and a potentiality believed to be second to none in the land; and the petitioners plainly announced their intention to retain this position of eminence. Furthermore, they implied that the College of New Jersey, no longer a private or a local affair but deservedly now an object of national pride, was likewise the bearer of increased responsibility. The trustees were thus guardians of a public trust; and only by establishing the College on a generous and enlarged foundation, so as to maintain an adequate number of professors in the liberal arts, broaden the scope of the curriculum, and widen the interests to be enlisted on the institution's behalf, could they expect to make it " continue to be," as they said, " the principal resort of American youth from the Hudson to Georgia."

The committee's report announcing the grant accordingly informs the board that assurance has been given to the legislature that " the reason which had originally placed the institution under the entire direction of one denomination of Christians had ceased with the Revolution; and that the present Board of Trustees had determined hereafter to act upon all proper occasions and

particularly in the choice of trustees on a plan of most extended liberality." The committee pointed out that it felt responsible to the State for the fulfillment of this assurance. It declared that no further aid from the State need be expected unless this pledge were lived up to; while greater catholicity in election of trustees would legitimately lead to additional and much needed benefactions. The first clause of this statement is in the nature of a corollary to the committee's high view of the position of the College as having now outgrown denominational and sectional swaddling clothes. Governor Belcher had tried to express this larger aim in forming his first board of trustees; he had as clearly intended the College to rise above denominationalism and sectionalism as the founders had wished it to be free of synodical restraint; and in the hope that it might develop into just what President Smith's committee claimed that it had developed, the wise old governor, following Hamilton's lead, had drawn his charter on the broadest lines he could devise,—lines which the lapse of more than a century and a half has not found necessary to alter in any material feature.

Whether the members of the committee over-estimated the importance of the College or not is of little consequence; but it should be remembered that they had statistics which are no longer available and that theirs could scarcely have been an idle boast. It is to their credit to have so clearly conceived and so boldly stated their high purpose; and that the trustees as a body shared their position is fairly to be inferred from the fact that the grant was accepted on its terms, and that no dissent from the pledged future policy was expressed. As for the proclaimed liberality of that new policy subsequent elections to the board do not show its adoption.

The grant of the legislature is said to have been just as unpopular in the State as a proposed grant under Witherspoon had been; and, subsequently, on the passing of Dr. Smith and the far-visioned men who signed with him the report of 1796, the election of Dr. Ashbel Green to the presidency, and the controlling influence of the Princeton Theological Seminary over the affairs of the College, all advocacy of such a catholic policy was for the time being stifled, and the College of New Jersey despite its unsectarian charter was to grow more than ever denominational. It had yet to pass through what has been called its " theological " period.

The introduction of science into the curriculum brought its prompt reward. Students began to come to Princeton chiefly to read with Professor Maclean, who was lecturing on chemistry and natural history and had a room in Nassau Hall fitted up as a laboratory. Provision was made for such students by arranging a special course, on the completion of which they received a certificate but no degree. The certificate stated that the holder had satisfactorily pursued courses in logic, geography, mathematics (theoretical and practical), natural and moral philosophy, astronomy, chemistry, and belles lettres, and had sustained a public examination with approval. This provision for special students in science remained on the statute books for a decade and was then abruptly repealed. It was the earliest Princeton attempt at a scientific course and is historically interesting because its requirement of a leaven of humanistic studies in a course otherwise devoted to science has remained a cardinal principle in the Princeton theory of university education.

In 1796 there were between eighty and ninety students in residence, and the college resources amounted to some

$25,000, only $8,000, however, being available for general purposes, the rest having been bequeathed for the education of candidates for the ministry. But a fair share of the fund granted by the State was used for scientific equipment, chiefly in physics and astronomy, and by the spring of 1800 as much as £535 had been spent in that manner. The purchase list of over sixty articles is too long to quote in full, but some of the items are curious enough to be mentioned. Besides apparatus such as a three-foot telescope, a nine-inch convex mirror, and a similar concave mirror, a four-inch theodolite, a four-foot reflecting telescope and a "mahogany case of chemical tests," there was a "magnetical apparatus," a large-sized "magic Lanthorn" with ten single and ten double slides, "one best finished middle size air pump and one large receiver with glasses," a "two fall guinea and feather apparatus with long glass receiver," a "torrecellian experiment," two pounds of quicksilver, a "hydrostatical apparatus for illustrating the chief principles of hydrostatics" and a "compound solar, opaque and transparent microscopical apparatus of the completest kind."

Over £900 had been spent on repairs to Nassau Hall by April, 1801, and there remained in the hands of the treasurer for the restoration of the library and for future improvement some £360. But whatever expectations President Smith may have had of a new era of growth and expansion, they received in March, 1802, a heart-breaking set-back when Nassau Hall was destroyed by fire. The edifice appears to have been a fire-trap; it was consumed in an afternoon, only its blackened walls being left standing. Preliminary investigation reported that the fire was of incendiary origin, that only one hundred volumes of the three thousand in the library

had been rescued, but that the newly acquired scientific apparatus had been saved. In the ensuing careful inquiry it was implied that students had wilfully set the building on fire, and, although there was no direct evidence against them, five or six were dismissed as being " unwholesomely connected " with the catastrophe. College exercises were resumed a month later, the students being lodged in private houses, and recitations being held in the president's house, in Professor Maclean's house and in the steward's quarters. Steps were taken to rebuild Nassau Hall at once. An address was prepared by the Reverend Dr. Ashbel Green, a member of the board of trustees, and signed by the governor of the State, calling on the public the country over for financial aid, a special appeal being made to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. And early in 1803 Nassau Hall was ready once more for occupancy.

In the first moment of excitement President Smith had declared the fire to be the result of vice and irreligion. He must have regretted his rash language, for the board took him at his word and proceeded to tighten discipline. The two lower classes were ordered to study together henceforth under the eye of a tutor; each undergraduate was to be compelled to sign a promise to conduct himself according to the laws of the College, and more especially to pledge that he would not at any time without leave, for the purpose of eating or drinking, enter a tavern " or any other house or place where liquor, pastry or groceries of any kind " were sold, nor introduce into his room " any such articles nor receive or entertain there any party for eating or drinking," nor countenance any combination against college authority, nor " game or stake money on any game," nor

keep or use firearms of any kind " in or near the precincts of the college."

In a circular letter of somewhat earlier date Dr. Smith had sought the co-operation of parents and guardians in restricting pocket money and cutting off unnecessary funds. " My anxiety for the improvement of the youth," said he, " and my wish to govern the college with as little rigor as possible, are my motives for thus solicitously endeavoring to obtain the co-operation of parents with our efforts for the prosperity of this increasing and useful seminary." And it was in consideration of the legitimate desires of his undergraduates that an interesting resolution was adopted in November, 1803, by the faculty. Being now forbidden by the board of trustees to allow students to visit " the cake & beer houses in town, & thinking it a hardship upon the students to be altogether prohibited from the use of fruits of different kinds," the faculty in this resolution appointed a committee " to contrive some plan by which the evils arising from a frequent intercourse with the above mentioned houses may be avoided & yet all proper privileges be retained." The minutes, however, do not show that this committee ever reported. On the contrary, an edict emanating from the board was to be issued that henceforth no student would be admitted to college unless his parent or guardian agreed to support a sumptuary law, by restricting at the source the funds placed at the student's disposal. The total necessary annual expense including room rent, board, tuition, fuel, light, washing, books, etc., was estimated in this circular at one hundred and eighty-five dollars.

The spirit of these regulations indicates the attitude now to be adopted toward the undergraduates by the authorities. The liberal management of Witherspoon's

day was vanishing. When the summer term of 1802 opened Dr. Green, who seems to have been the disciplinarian of the board, addressed the assembled students and faculty on the new laws, his harangue marking the beginning of an era of primary-school discipline in the institution. He informed his audience that the rules had been revised, amended, and added to, and had been placed in the hands of everyone and that presently each student would be called upon to pledge his honor to obey them upon pain of dismissal; nothing was to alter the resolution of the trustees; they would rather dismiss the whole undergraduate body than suffer the least infringement on, or contempt of, their authority; owing to the prevalence of loose sentiments in various parts of the country in regard to morals and religion, coupled with neglect of family discipline and instruction, many of the young men sent to Princeton in recent years had been corrupt from the beginning, and had made government difficult; the authorities now intended "to purge the College of the dross it contained." Finally, said he, parents "have transferred to us the whole of their prerogatives"; and, as the College was the home of Christian religion, all infidel and irreligious books were hereby absolutely prohibited. The students were then ordered to fall in and sign the new set of laws. It is not recorded that any refused. This done, Dr. Green reminded the members of the faculty that, as the students had now been told that the laws must be obeyed, so they, the faculty, must enforce them. Not content with the revisions announced in May, Dr. Green reported still further regulations in September. As President Maclean remarks, the trustees had at this time "a wonderful passion for revising the laws."

Happily this was not all that engaged their attention.

A professorship in ancient languages having been created in 1802, and Professor William Thompson being called from Dickinson to the new chair, President Smith was sent out to collect money for it, and to Dr. Green was given supervision of the College in the president's absence. Money was gathered in driblets all over the country, but especially in the South, whence so large a proportion of students came. Increased rooming accommodations in Nassau Hall proving necessary,[1] space occupied by recitation rooms, library, and laboratories was appropriated, and for these two new buildings were erected in 1803-04. One of them was planned to contain recitation rooms, and an apartment for the "reception and handsome exhibition of the library." This building, then known as the "Library," is at present occupied by the University Offices. The other building, an exact duplicate of its survivor and placed on the opposite side of the campus, contained in the basement the college kitchen and refectory, with apartments for the steward, and on its upper floors recitation rooms and laboratories for the mathematical and scientific departments, and a makeshift observatory. Known at first as the "Refectory," it was subsequently called the "Philosophical Hall," and thirty years later was to be the scene of Professor Joseph Henry's work at Princeton. It was removed in 1873 to make room for the Chancellor Green Library.[2]

[1] There were in 1804 one hundred and fifty-three students in residence, which number had increased by 1806 to two hundred.

[2] Commons at Princeton was as old an institution as morning prayers. Placed at first in Nassau Hall, the college kitchen and then the dining-room were soon removed into a separate building, where quarters were provided for the steward. The building of the "Refectory" superseded this arrangement. In 1830 an arrangement was made to supply board at cheaper rate for those who desired it, and the catalogue announced that the

President Smith was away from September, 1802, to April, 1803. A year later the total subscriptions had reached the respectable sum of $42,000, most of which came from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the South, but all of which save $2,600 had already been spent.

Having added a professor of ancient languages to the faculty, the board next decided to add a professor of theology and thus relieve the president, whose health was poor. Dr. Ashbel Green declined the chair, and the Reverend Henry Kollock, of the class of 1794, was appointed to it. He resigned in 1806 just as he was beginning to form the reputation he later enjoyed as one of the most brilliant and polished orators in the Presbyterian Church. He had been President Smith's favorite pupil and had shaped his style largely after the pattern of his preceptor.[1]

A report to the board by the president at this time (1804) shows that the members of the faculty thor-

steward was setting two tables. In 1834, the number who preferred to pay one dollar and fifty cents a week rather than the regular two dollars had grown so large that an additional steward's house and refectory, promptly dubbed the "Poor House," was erected. Alterations on the old refectory were then begun by which student rooms on the top floor were turned into a laboratory and lecture room for Professor Henry, while the mineralogical and chemical laboratories and museums were housed on the lower floors. Beginning with 1846 students were allowed to board out of College under certain restrictions and the maintenance of the refectory became increasingly difficult. The last steward resigned under a cloud in 1854, and the fire of 1855 completed the dissolution of college commons. In 1891, at the height of the old eating-club system, an attempt was made to reorganize commons, but the effort proved a financial failure. In 1906 the University authorities took the problem up and freshman commons was instituted, being followed in 1908 by sophomore commons. All underclassmen have since then been required to board at the commons.

[1] Of Professor Kollock, Dr. Carnahan quotes Bishop Hobart, who was in College with him, as saying that "although he was both a Democrat and a Calvinist, he was the most intelligent, gentlemanly, and agreeable companion that he had ever found."

oughly earned their salaries. Space would be lacking to tell all that the president was called upon to do. His salary was $1,600 with a house, now that of the dean of the faculty. He taught the upperclassmen in belles lettres, criticism and composition, in moral philosophy, which included metaphysics, natural theology, civil government and the "Law of Nature and Nations." He also taught logic, geography, history, and the evidences of religion. He presided at evening prayers and at the oratorical exercises which followed; once a week he met the Theological Society, composed of candidates for the ministry; in his regular turn he sat at the high table in the Refectory; he was the college disciplinary officer, counseling, censuring, and banishing students, and he attended to all the college correspondence, receiving and answering seldom less than six hundred letters a year.

The professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, John Maclean, received $800 and the use of a house, and taught geometry, trigonometry, surveying, conic sections, algebra, natural and experimental philosophy, astronomy and chemistry and "such parts of Natural History as are immediately connected with this science." Each lecture in natural philosophy required from one to three hours of preliminary work in preparing apparatus and experiments. His work was more than doubled just then because he had to divide the junior class into two sections owing to its size; moreover, a separate class had been formed of those who were backward in studies or who had been late in returning to college. He had the services of an assistant.

For the sum of $800 and a house, the professor of theology, Henry Kollock, preached on Sundays and lectured to the junior class on Sunday afternoons, had

full charge of theological students,[1] attended all meetings of the Theological Society, and assumed his share of college proctorial duties.

The professor of languages, William Thompson, for the same salary as Kollock, spent six hours a day in the classroom, and five evenings a week he was on duty in Nassau Hall until curfew. He was in special charge of the freshman and sophomore classes.

The tutors, who received $280 and a room in Nassau Hall, besides hearing freshman and sophomore recitations and sharing with the professor of languages the supervision of study hours, instructed underclassmen on Sundays in Bible and catechism, attended prayers every morning and made the rounds of the building every evening after eight. The greater part of one day a week was spent hearing excuses for absences from chapel; but, concludes the report, "their weightiest and most irksome duty is preserving order and decorum in the college building." President Smith never uttered a more solemn truth. Tutors were the Ishmaels of college society. Some idea of the ills that they were heir to may be found in a passage of one of Dr. James W. Alexander's "Familiar Letters" written at a little later period as he was entering on a tutorship at Princeton. "You may expect to hear of cracker-firing, of scraping, of funking, of door-bolting, of ducking, of rope-tripping, of window-breaking,[2] of all the petty vengeance which unruly striplings wreak on their hapless instructors."

[1] The course consisted of divinity, ecclesiastical history, church government, Christian and Jewish antiquities and pastoral theology. Hebrew was taught to those who desired it. At each recitation one or more original essays were read by students and were criticised by the professor. Theological tuition was free, and board at the refectory cost these men but a dollar a week.

[2] Tutors' windows were constantly being broken. According to a campus saying, a tutor's salary was $200 "and coal thrown in."

And again: "It requires all the effrontery which I can assume to fill my gown with any kind of effect, to sit in the focal point of vision before a hundred carping young gentlemen, on the scaffold yclep'd the stage, to march through the congregation at the foot of the Refectory steps with manifold tokens of respect, and then to march at their head, and sit in state at the upper end of the long college table." Besides recitations for six and a half hours a day, "with us tutors is left all the discretionary power of preserving order. No one can change his room without our permission, or go to the tavern, or leave bounds in study hours, or leave the Refectory, or have a meal sent out to him, or take his seat after grace, or get a letter on Sunday, &c., &c., unless we give him leave. Besides going through the College thrice a day on a round of inspection, it is our rule to send for every student who fails to come voluntarily and render an account of his absence from his chamber. This week it becomes my duty to preside in the Refectory, to conduct morning prayers in the chapel, and two prayer meetings connected with the college, as well as to have more minute supervision of the students, and to take care that the edifice is never for any time left without one officer." A tutor's life was not one whit less exacting in 1804, the time of which we are speaking.

In view of the growth of the classes it was decided to separate mathematics and astronomy from the chair of natural philosophy and chemistry, and the Reverend Andrew Hunter, a graduate of the class of 1772, and a trustee, was elected to the new chair. Room was also gained in Nassau Hall for undergraduates by removing the theological students into an adjacent house, which was forthwith known as "Divinity Hall," Princeton's first Graduate College.

That autumn the president was able to report that Nassau Hall had been repaired and improved, that two new buildings had been erected, that three new professorships had been created, and that the number of students (153) was greater than ever before. The faculty now consisted of the president, four professors, two tutors, and an instructor in French. The library contained four thousand volumes and a method had been devised for adding to it annually.[1]

The president asked, however, that authors would present copies of new works, and that inventors of useful machines would give models to the College; and he added that specimens illustrating natural history and " all Specimens of Elegant Execution in the Fine Arts " would be gratefully received.

The impetus Dr. Smith had already given to scientific studies at Princeton was furthered the next year by the purchase of a cabinet of natural history specimens, said to be the first owned by an American college. It was bought for three thousand dollars by the president and his colleagues of the faculty at a sale in New York in the hope that the board of trustees would reimburse them. Mr. Elias Boudinot generously came forward with a gift of land to meet the expense. The next year it was proposed that the entrance requirements in the languages be raised so that the students' time in college might thus be released from language studies for more work in the sciences. That this activity in scientific teaching would be viewed with misgiving in certain quarters was to be expected, and President Smith was

[1] The librarian was making a catalogue and until that was ready students were allowed to consult for two hours on Mondays such lists as were available and leave their requests with the librarian. On Tuesdays the library was open for one hour when books requested were distributed.

becoming a target for severe criticism. It was asserted that the tendency of the curriculum was not toward the preparation of young men for the ministry, but was dangerously rationalistic. On the other hand, the administration had been undeniably satisfactory in regard to general growth. The class graduated in 1806 was the largest in the history of the College, containing fifty-four members; the total number of undergraduates during the past year had been one hundred and eighty-one, coming from fifteen of the sixteen States in the Union. The faculty, too, had never been larger, and the total undergraduate roll had been close to the two hundred mark for three or four years past. New buildings and additional equipment had been procured, and the curriculum was keeping abreast of the age. But just at this time, the high water mark of Dr. Smith's administration, occurred an incident which became the talk of the country and did the college irretrievable harm. This was the "Riot of 1807."

Dr. Smith had safely weathered a disturbance in 1800 which had seemed to be fraught with the most serious possibilities. Had discipline been administered on a less elementary plane he might have averted the fatal consequences of the riot of March, 1807. Three popular students were dismissed for insulting a college officer. A committee of students then demanded a reopening of the case, and the retraction of certain uncomplimentary comments made by the faculty in issuing the verdict. Refusing these demands President Smith addressed the College in the prayer-hall. During his remarks there were manifold signs of disapproval, and when he proposed to call the roll and let each man choose whether he would or would not yield to college authority, a body of students leaped to their feet and rushed yelling

out of the building. To cut short the story of the investigation which ensued, as a result the faculty dismissed or suspended one hundred and twenty-five of the two hundred in college. Fifty-seven eventually returned and finished their course. Of the others, some were well got rid of;[1] but some were men whom Princeton is sorry to have lost,[2] as they were among the best men in college. It was a case of mob impulse on the one hand and of bungling management on the other, although the Reverend Dr. Samuel Miller, who in a few months was to become a trustee, wondered if the rebellion were not possibly a visitation from Providence, and whether the Great Head of the Church were about to "purge and elevate the college or totally destroy it." The board indorsed the action of the faculty, and found in the affair additional support for its attitude toward the administration of discipline. Already it had been treating the College like a village school; now it seemed to consider the faculty a group of fledgling ushers. For example, when a committee of the board came to examine the faculty's minutes it sternly reported that the pages of the minute book were not numbered, that in one place a date was wanting, that there were instances of grammatical construction which it thought incorrect, that the phrase "examination sustained" was used instead of a better, that here and there the language of the minutes was quite unintelligible to those not familiar with its occult vocabulary, citing as an example the phrase "a student being conditioned in arithmetic."

[1] See *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, p. 222, and Vol. XVI, p. 120, for the further academic adventures of one of the group.

[2] An example is Abel P. Upshur, secretary of the navy under President Tyler. He was to lose his life in an explosion on the ill-fated gunboat "Princeton" in February, 1847.

Worse than all this, however, it was learned that one tutor had been away on a trip, that another had entertained friends in his room, that the sophomores had "cut and mangled in a disgraceful manner" the desks and benches in their recitation room; all of which showed "a great want of proper discipline." Dr. Maclean at this point reminds readers of his "History" that there were unfortunately no railroads in those days to take trustees home, when once they got to Princeton.

Conditions in College led to a re-enactment of the sumptuary law of 1802, the trustees "having seen with pain the evils . . . which have frequently arisen from young men possessing, in too great abundance, the means of dissipation." A new letter was issued to parents and guardians stating that the earlier law had been observed fairly well at first, but "parental indulgence and the want of a proper person on the spot to take charge of the money of the students" had led to a relaxation of the rule. The trustees had learned with concern that students were inducing their parents to make "unnecessary and improper remittances" by claiming that the style of living in College was such as to "require a great expense in order to put a young man on an honorable footing with his companions." This the trustees declared was not true of the College in general. And they proceeded to state the necessary and proper expenses. Each student on entering paid a matriculation fee of five dollars, and provided his own bed or mattress and a few other pieces of furniture, costing in all not more than twenty to thirty dollars. Most of the furniture he could sell when he left. If he spent his vacations at Princeton—four weeks in the spring and six in the autumn—his board and washing would cost four or five dollars a week. If he spent his vaca-

tions "in the country"—*i.e.*, outside of Princeton—the weekly cost would be three or four dollars. The actual expenses for the college year were:

SUMMER SESSION		WINTER SESSION	
Board, 20 weeks @ $2.25	$45.00	Board, 22 weeks	$49.50
Tuition, rent, use of library	23.66½	Tuition, etc.	23.66½
Wages of waiters	2.50	Wages	2.50
Washing @ 33c	6.60	Washing	7.33
Candles, 10 lbs. @ 25c.	2.50	Candles, 20 lbs.	5.00
Incidentals (cleaning and damages)	1.50	Incidentals	1.50
		Wood	17.00
	$81.76½		$106.49½

making a total annual cost of $188.26. Books, stationery, and clothes were not estimated, and in the matter of clothes, remarked the circular, some effectual check should be imposed on extravagance, "as many young persons have been known improperly to part with clothes before they have been sufficiently worn."

Parents were earnestly assured that greatly to exceed the estimate named above would be hazarding "both the virtue and the scholarship of their sons." The board of trustees had, therefore, created a new officer to be called the "Bursar," who was to be the guardian of funds of all students whose parents would assign him that task, and he would disburse such funds only in amounts and at times agreed upon. But whether parents availed themselves of the services of the Bursar or not, no student would be admitted hereafter unless his parent or guardian signed an agreement not to furnish him with funds above the amount stipulated and not to pay any debts incurred by his son or ward. For his services the Bursar proposed to deduct one and a half per cent. on all moneys deposited with him.

Further, it was resolved not to allow more than two students to room in the same apartment in college, so that not more than one hundred and fifty would ever be in residence at one time. " Those therefore," continued the letter, " who may wish to enter after that number is completed, will probably be obliged to wait at the neighboring schools or academies till a vacancy is opened by the removal of some of the actual residents." No waiting list has yet been discovered, nor is it likely that the rolls of neighboring schools and academies were noticeably increased by impatient prospective Princetonians.

A note states that $250 to $280 over and above the necessary expenses would be ample for all other expenses, " notwithstanding the increased prices of many articles within the last four years "; and $150 would suffice for those who lived economically, while less would be needed by those whose clothing was furnished from home.

If attention to science had hitherto been the distinguishing feature of Dr. Smith's administration, the leading feature was now to be the growing interference of the board with the internal government of the College. President Smith in his later years probably was less than ever a stern disciplinarian. The spirit of the age may have been a difficult one to control—a general comment; but the policy of the board as exemplified by Dr. Green, President Smith's successor, did not prove any more successful in allaying undergraduate irritation, or in checking undergraduate disorder.

Dr. Miller, viewing the College solely from one angle, expected already that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church would organize a theological school of its own, unless the College were put on a better footing. He felt that the Assembly should either establish a new

school or give more attention toward extending the plan and increasing the energy of the theological department in the College; but of the wisdom of the latter alternative he had grave doubt. His letters show that for more than two years past he had been distrustful of the "Princeton establishment." Dr. Green doubted whether they should "wait for a favorable change" in the College; he was not sure that the proposed seminary ought to be at Princeton at all, with which uncertainty Dr. Miller sympathized, as it did not seem that "in the present state of the College" a divinity school with ever so able a head could command confidence and patronage. He feared also that the students of the Seminary, under the most favorable circumstances, "would not be the better for habitual intercourse with the students in the arts"; there might be danger of clashing between the two faculties, and rivalry between the head of the theological faculty and the president of the College; it would be impossible to have a large divinity school under the care of the present board of trustees; in short, if it was desirable to keep the Seminary "uncontaminated by the College, to have its government unfettered, and its orthodoxy and purity" perpetuated, a separate establishment would be advisable. Dr. Green even suggested a separate preparatory school for prospective theological students, but Dr. Miller pointed out at once that the College would take offense at any effort to form a rival institution.

Meanwhile, the trustees in pursuance of their policy of personal control were visiting every department of the College. They found the refectory clean, and the provision of the best, "with plenty of vegetables." A recent substitution of molasses beer for cider was deemed a good change. They heard the laws read to the students

in chapel for the third time that term; they regretted that the law requiring the wearing of gowns was not observed properly, and they remarked that the members of the faculty should set better example of obedience to the law in question. It was resolved that a committee be appointed at each meeting to inquire into the state of the College and its discipline and into the manner in which each member of the faculty was attending to his duties.

In the spring of 1808 Professors Hunter and Thompson both resigned, the one to take charge of a school at Bordentown, and the other on account of ill health, leaving President Smith and Professor Maclean with three tutors constituting the faculty. The number of students was one hundred and nine. A year later the committee of investigation reported that the discipline and order had been good, what little disorder had occurred being due to the president's poor health and to the fact that on the regular monthly holiday the students had been allowed to go sleighing and had visited, unrestrained, a neighboring and exhilarating town. Hereafter they were to be held within college bounds. The faculty was, moreover, ordered to keep an absence book, in which absences from recitation and the reasons thereof were to be recorded for the inspection of the trustees. Meanwhile, the undergraduate body was shrinking, there being in 1808-09 one hundred and three students in first term and only ninety-one in second term. Disorders in College were ascribed as usual to lack of discipline, whereupon the three tutors resigned, and the board appointed a fresh committee to take the whole situation of affairs into consideration and report. The result was that, in an endeavor to kill two birds with one stone, the board ordered collections to be taken

to support an extra officer of discipline to assist the president and to act as vice-president, coupling with this administrative task the professorship of theology, vacated by Kollock.

By this time the plans of the General Assembly for founding a theological seminary were assuming definite shape and in September, 1810, a committee of the board was appointed to confer on the matter with a committee of the Assembly and to report. Negotiations proceeded, with Drs. Green and Miller leading the movement for the seminary's establishment at Princeton, and finally a culmination was reached in June, 1811, in the signing of an astounding agreement between the two parties. The conspicuous absence of President Smith's name from the trustees' committee is suggestive. The summarized terms of the agreement were these: The Assembly was to be free to erect on college grounds such buildings as it might judge proper, and in the meantime the College was to give the Seminary every accommodation in its buildings, and as long after the erection of Seminary buildings, as the Seminary might desire; the College was to receive all students sent to it by the Assembly, subject to entrance requirements and college discipline, and under board and tuition fees and room rent, with the understanding, however, that the said fees were to be reduced as the number of students and the funds of the College increased; the trustees were to receive and hold at interest any funds the Assembly might place in their hands, investing the same under direction of the Assembly and paying over principal and interest whenever the Assembly should direct; the Seminary was to have free use of the College library, and the College was to assist in every way possible, if the Assembly saw fit to establish side by side with the

College a special preparatory institution for theological students; the Assembly was free to remove the Seminary from Princeton at any time if it concluded that the connection between the two institutions did not "conduce sufficiently to the great purposes contemplated" by the founding of the Seminary; the trustees engaged that as long as the Seminary remained at Princeton no professorship of theology would be maintained in the College; and finally, as for the $1,800 which the College received annually as income from its charitable funds for the education of candidates for the ministry, the trustees agreed to "pay a high regard" to the recommendations of the Assembly as to the beneficiaries. It should be said that the Seminary never took full advantage of the extraordinary concessions made to it under the instrument above described. Side by side, College and Seminary have developed, each in its own way, and in recent years at least each untrammeled by the other's presence. But for over half a century, after 1812, the influence of the Seminary was to dominate the councils of the College, and not until Dr. McCosh's time did the latter recover its freedom. This dominancy may be appreciated from the fact that, between Dr. Green's accession to the presidency in 1812 and the resignation of Dr. Maclean in 1868, thirty-six of the sixty-four trustees elected to the board were either directors, trustees, or professors of the Seminary. Dr. Carnahan himself was a trustee of the Seminary from 1826 to his death, in 1859, and from 1840 to 1843 a vice-president, and from 1843 until his death president of the board of trustees of the Seminary. And when it is remembered that a by-law was passed by the trustees of the College requiring that at least twelve of the twenty-seven members of the board should be

clergymen, and that another by-law required that at least two members of each standing committee of the board should be clergymen, it can be readily seen that the clerical control was assured.

The immediate result of the agreement of 1811 was that it became next to impossible for some years to obtain funds for the College, the new enterprise attracting most of the donations. Dr. Green's diary during his presidency contains frequent mention of gifts to the Seminary, but rarely, if ever, of a gift to the College of which he was head. Five years before this date President Smith had memorialized the General Assembly on the opportunity the College offered for realizing the desire for a better theological school. His appeal had been ignored and Professor Kollock, in 1808, had given up his chair because he had so few pupils. Dr. Green and Dr. Miller, both severely critical of President Smith's administration, were devoting their influence to the establishment of a separate institution and, therefore, to that degree were hindering the development of the theological department of the College. President Smith, now an old man and racked by ill health, felt himself unable to cope with them; he was aware of their dissatisfaction with him, and he knew that the control of the situation had slipped through his fingers; intimation reached him of contemplated far-reaching reorganization of the government and instruction of the College. The establishment of the Seminary under an agreement carrying concessions which would practically subordinate the College to it could not have won his approval. He had been trained to a broader conception, a conception to which the best features of his administration had borne ample witness. He felt his inability to restore confidence in the College which

Nassau Hall and Dean's (formerly the President's) House

in one capacity or another he had now served for over thirty years; and in the summer of 1811 accordingly he resigned the presidency. An annuity and a house were voted him by the board; his library was purchased for the College; and the board presented to him its thanks for his services; but these things could not have taken away the bitterness of disappointment that must have lurked in his leave-taking.

There is good reason to believe that in the minds of those who disapproved of Dr. Smith his chief fault lay in his being broader than his times. While it is improbable that any recollection had been retained of his early venture from a philosophical straight and narrow path into the pleasant fields of Berkleyanism under the influence of Joseph Periam, a college tutor in his undergraduate days,[1] nevertheless plenty of Presbyterian observers must have looked askance at the freedom of opinion that he not only allowed but encouraged among his pupils. That he had been no prig even in his tutor days seems the only conclusion one may fairly draw from William Paterson's satirizing lines in his "Belle of Princeton," a poem read in 1772 or 1773 before the Cliosophic Society.[2] That his theology in later years was unsatisfactory to Dr. Green (and therefore undoubtedly to others) seems to have been the chief reason why the latter discarded his lectures on the evidences of religion and on moral philosophy and returned to Dr. Witherspoon's mere outlines—the lectures "were not exactly conformed to his [Green's] notions on the subject of divine grace," wrote Dr. Smith to Bishop Hobart[3] in 1817.

[1] The story is conveniently summarized in Riley, "American Philosophy," p. 497.
[2] W. J. Mills, "Glimpses of Colonial Society," p. 121.
[3] McVickar, "Professional Years of J. H. Hobart," p. 420. Dr.

His "Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Color in the Human Species" was considered remarkable in early nineteenth-century scientific circles, although, of course, it has but slight value now, save as an early contribution to American anthropology and as affording a glimpse of the use of the principles of evolution fully two generations before Princeton was ready to consider them;[1] but, even though Dr. Smith asserted that the purpose of his essay was to bring science in "to confirm the verity of the Mosaic history," it is questionable whether this use of science was altogether pleasing to his critics; it was too much like playing with fire. There was needed the coming of men like Joseph Henry, Stephen Alexander, and Arnold Guyot to show the controlling spirits at Princeton that study of the sciences did not necessarily undermine religious belief. Before that day dawned, however, the innovation that Dr. Smith introduced in teaching physical and natural sciences in college created unmistakable concern. The prominence he had given to such subjects in his curriculum was certainly in the mind of Dr. Archibald Alexander, for example, when he sounded his note of warning to the General Assembly of 1808 in declaring that "the great extension of the physical sciences, and the taste and fashion of the age, have given such a shape and direction to the academical course that I confess it appears to me to be little adapted to introduce youth to the study of the Sacred Scripture."[2] It is little to be wondered at, therefore,

Smith was a man of warm personal sympathies who retained his interest in his former pupils; his correspondence with Hobart and a long letter to James Madison on his election to the Presidency of the United States are examples of the paternal attitude he preserved toward those whom he had once taught.

[1] Riley, "American Philosophy," p. 506.

[2] Quoted from Maclean's "History," Vol. II, p. 131.

that the theological department of the College found but slight favor in the sight of the strictly orthodox. Dr. Smith spent the remaining years of his life in Princeton and died in August, 1819.

Dr. Green's prominence in college affairs during the past decade and his connection with the circumstances of the founding of the Seminary pointed very naturally to him as President Smith's successor, and his expressed astonishment at his election (August, 1812) need not be taken too seriously,—it was certainly not so taken by the undergraduates. Conversely, his surprise on finding that his congregation at Philadelphia was quite prepared to allow him to leave his church was undoubtedly genuine. In his opinion the College was "in a most deplorable condition," and he entered upon his presidency with a resolution "to reform it or to fall under the attempt." He was destined to do neither. The faculty assembled before the opening of the term and spent the day in special prayer; and for his own guidance as president Dr. Green wrote down some fifteen resolutions, which he kept to the best of his ability. His chief plan of government was "to give the students more indulgence of a lawful kind" than they had ever had so that he might with more propriety "counteract unlawful practices." Dr. Witherspoon's remedy had been to set his students to reaping his Tusculum fields. Dr. Green, on the other hand, had invitations printed inviting his young barbarians to his dinner table in groups of eight,[1] and for some years he kept up this practice; but he admitted that "it had but little effect

[1] There must have been some virtue in that number. Soon after he became president he divided the classes in the refectory into "messes" of eight, each to be responsible for the conduct of its members.

in reclaiming the vicious.'' The '' indulgence '' was hardly popular; better a dinner of herbs in the refectory than a stalled ox at the president's table. That he should have expected anything else shows how little fitted he was for his task. He suffered from what he called '' a settled gloom of mind ''; which really means that he utterly lacked a sense of humor. He never received a better piece of advice than that given him by old Dr. Stephen Bloomer Balch of the class of 1774, who, revisiting Nassau Hall in 1813 after forty years' absence and becoming an instant favorite on the campus by his jovial stories and merry laughter, was warned by Dr. Green that he would lessen his spiritual influence by such loud '' horse laughs,'' whereupon the good man retorted that if the president had indulged in a few himself he would not be in his present nervous and irritable condition.[1]

Dr. Green tells us in his diary that his first address to the students provoked them to tears and he was greatly encouraged, but this appearance of docility was '' delusive or fugitive '' and he soon found the '' majority of them bent on mischief.''

He was blinded by prejudice. Even President Maclean, his pupil and warm admirer, is constrained in his '' History '' to show by documentary evidence that Dr. Green's unflattering opinion of the College was grossly exaggerated. He began by taking everything into his own personal control; he kept the minutes of the faculty for the first term of his presidency, although the faculty had its own elected clerk; he also kept the minutes of the board of trustees for two years, although the board likewise had its elected clerk.

[1] Thomas W. Balch, "Balch Genealogica," Philadelphia, 1907, p. 193.

The Reverend Elijah Slack, a graduate of the class of 1808, was induced to leave his successful private school at Trenton to become vice-president and professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and Philip Lindsly of the class of 1804, who had formerly been a tutor and had entered the ministry, was recalled to become senior tutor and, in the spring, professor of languages.[1] With a junior tutor, these gentlemen formed Dr. Green's first faculty. The opening year of the administration passed off without serious disturbance, although it was the president's private opinion that every kind of devilment that could be devised was tried on him, and in punishment thereof seven or eight students were dismissed. The board's inspection committee made the reassuring report that the faculty appeared "to have attended to the business of the College with a great degree of intelligence," and President Green must have felt he had already shown how one-half of an academic family should live. How the other half could be tamed was still open to question. Had the solution of this problem depended on mere activity in enforcing the laws of the College, President Green would have scored a complete triumph. During that first year of his reign it was never too late (nor indeed too early) to administer discipline. On one occasion he dragged his colleagues out of bed at three o'clock in the morning to dismiss young Mr. Richard Bayard, who, by means of

[1] Few educators of the time could have received more calls than this man. Three times he was elected to the presidency of Transylvania College, Kentucky, and three times to the presidency of Cumberland College, at Nashville, (University of Nashville), twice to the presidency of the University of Alabama, once each to the presidencies of Washington College (Washington and Lee) Virginia, Dickinson College, Louisiana College at Jackson, and South Alabama College, and once to the provostship of the University of Pennsylvania; and he was approached with a view to taking the presidency of the University of Ohio.

a rope tied to the clapper of the College bell and boldly carried through his window, had been making night intolerable by persistent tolling of the sacred " rouser " —as it was called. If the president derived any satisfaction from his early efforts to subdue the unruly, he was to be rudely disturbed by the session beginning the following winter (November, 1813). The hard times in the country had been making themselves felt in the refectory, where a beverage brewed of beans and rye was being served as coffee and was being sweetened with molasses instead of sugar. Some of the ultimate consumers fell sick, and after general discontent, expressed in noise and restlessness marked by the setting off of preliminary and comparatively harmless " crackers " or torpedoes, there was discovered one Sunday night in January, 1814, " an extensive, deep-laid, and most criminal conspiracy." This time Dr. Green's language was not exaggerated. A giant torpedo made of a log of wood and containing over two pounds of powder was exploded in the main entrance to Nassau Hall, cracking the walls from top to bottom, blowing out the glass in the whole corridor, and driving one piece through the door of the prayer-hall. The ringleaders proved to be two former students living in the village, and eleven other students were implicated. The leaders were prosecuted and fined, and three of the others were dismissed. On the arrest of the leaders there was general insubordination. Small crackers were exploded in the building, the direst threats were scrawled on the walls, and at supper-time as the students went along the dark passage to the refectory there was hissing and yelling, which only the presence of Dr. Green, candle in hand, could quiet. The disorder spluttered itself out during the next two months, but crackers of various sizes were fired freely—

Dr. Green's diary fairly snaps with them—and then suddenly peace fell on the campus. A year later he reported to the board that the past twelve months had been as good as could ever be expected. During the last session, said he, " your officers have indeed enjoyed halcyon days," and the boys in College were " decidedly the most amiable and exemplary " he had ever seen. This state of affairs was directly traceable to a revival of religion, during which, it may be noticed, two future bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Charles Pettit McIlvaine of 1816 and John Johns of 1815, with the future theologian of the Presbyterian Church, Charles Hodge, of 1815, turned their thoughts to religion.

But the inevitable reaction followed and the term that opened in November, 1816, proved to be the most turbulent in the history of the College. In January, 1817, the climax was reached in the famous " Great Rebellion," when, in the words of one reporter, Satan fell like lightning from heaven, all College exercises were suspended for several days, and half the country was given a new topic of discussion. The tutors were imprisoned in their rooms; the doors of Nassau Hall were barred and nailed up; a bonfire was made of the college outbuildings; the bell was rung continuously; windows were smashed in the upper floors, and billets of firewood fell from all directions on the heads of officers who tried to break their way in. Nassau Hall was in a state of siege. The town marshal, failing to afford the assistance sought of him and the citizens offering none, the faculty retreated in disorder, leaving the building in the hands of the insurgents. The furniture in the prayer-hall was demolished, pistols were fired, and dirks brandished in the windows; and the rioters

added insult to injury by parading up and down in front of Nassau Hall. When terms were finally reached, the fury of the mob having spent itself, some twenty-four were expelled and in the next month things quieted down, although it was the naïve opinion of the faculty that there were still in College a number of students "who cherished an insubordinate spirit in secret." Things went but little better for a year or two longer, and ex-President Smith, living in peaceful retirement, thought back to the pleasanter days that opened the century. "I too often see," he wrote to Hobart, "austerity and gloom, and harsh suspicion where candor, taste, and benevolent sentiments once prevailed."

In consequence of this episode and certain official comment thereon, Vice-President Slack resigned and left Princeton for a career of distinction elsewhere. Against Dr. Green's wishes—he thought the vice-presidency an "utterly useless" office—Professor Lindsly was then elected to the post; Henry Vethake of Queens College (Rutgers) was called to the professorship of natural philosophy and chemistry; and the board of trustees instituted one of its customary investigations to see how the general situation could be improved.

Dr. Hosack of New York, one of the few alumni who remembered their Alma Mater, meanwhile had offered to add to the mineralogical collection if provision were made for its proper exhibition, and this being agreed to he sent young John Torrey down to arrange the collection. This was the beginning of that distinguished scientist's connection with Princeton. Science, somewhat neglected in recent years, received belated recognition when a chair of experimental philosophy, chemistry, and natural history was created in 1818 for President Green's son, Mr. Jacob Green.

The New Jersey Medical Society the following year approached the board with the proposition for conferring medical degrees, but the board declined to allow its diplomas to be granted on examinations other than its own, and refused to grant medical degrees until medical courses should be instituted in the College.

Maintenance of discipline had evidently become as difficult a task for President Green as for his predecessor. The chief source of difficulty lay in undergraduate appetite, and a constant and insoluble problem was how to keep students from visiting the taverns and eating houses of the village for the consumption of late suppers or other reliefs to refectorial monotony. Again and again this grave question occupied the earnest attention of the trustees, while the faculty had it always before them. Back in 1813 no less an authority than the Hon. Elias Boudinot, who had been commissary of prisoners in the Revolution, had expressed the opinion to Dr. Green that the attempt of the college steward to give general satisfaction had gone entirely too far; as long as the fare was plain and good, and cleanly served, "delicacies ought to be avoided." The results of the steward's efforts to serve simplified coffee and elementary sugar have been seen. Late in 1815 the trustees heard the amazing news that the fare in the refectory was "more luxurious than it ought to be," and the steward was promptly ordered to dispense with unnecessary articles in furnishing the College table.[1] In 1819 a more stringent rule was adopted limiting the

[1] In the semi-annual reports sent home to parents on their sons' behavior, industry, scholarship, and health, made, as the documents said, "by the Faculty with a sacred regard to truth and impartiality," the stated expenses at this time (April, 1816) "exclusive of books, clothes, candles, and travelling expenses" are listed as follows:

amount of pocket money parents should allow their hungry charges. But these attempts to enforce plain living in the hope to foster high thinking, however commendable in the abstract, were never attractive to the proposed beneficiaries. And so the ancient quarrel proceeded.

Another source of difficulty in maintaining discipline had been the crowded condition of Nassau Hall. To meet this the board's committee on improvement of efficiency brought in a report in November, 1818, proposing a startling innovation in American college administration. It contemplated the erection of new college buildings, each to be under its own faculty as soon as its number of students warranted; in other words, the creation of separate colleges as in the English universities. The plan was ordered printed, but no copy of it is known to exist and its details are not of record. But it was further resolved that to encourage donations toward this or any similar project for the extension of the College, the name of the donor should be given to such building or buildings, or should be attached to any "professorship, lectureship, fellowship, scholarship, exhibition, or premium." The sum necessary for a professorship was $25,000, for a fellowship $5,000, and a scholarship $2,500. The board expected to raise in the Southern States the money needed for the buildings. The legislature of New Jer-

Summer Session		*Winter Session*	
Board 20 weeks	$ 50.00	Board 22 weeks	$ 55.00
Tuition and room rent	28.67	Tuition and room rent	28.67
Washing	6.00	Washing	6.00
Servants' wages and scrubbing	4.00	Servants' wages and scrubbing	4.00
	$ 88.67	Wood	20.00
			$113.67

A matriculation fee of $5.00 was charged.

sey was appealed to, but mindful of the past it declined to help. Ambitious as these interesting plans were, they came to naught for lack of funds.

When the next winter term opened (November, 1819) Dr. Green found his number would be between one hundred and thirty and one hundred and fifty[1]— " quite as large as it ever ought to be," and he hoped there would be " much fewer rogues included " than usual. " After long interval I have had a student, this week, call to consult me on the state of his soul," is a comment in his diary at this time.

The most pregnant event of this period as time proved was the entrance on the scene, as a tutor at the age of nineteen, the man whose self-denying devotion to the College was to hold it together in coming years of bitter disheartenment—young John Maclean, son of Professor Maclean and a graduate in the class of 1816.

Complaints arising as to the high cost of college living, in April, 1819, notice was issued that the necessary annual expenses amounted to about $225, exclusive of books and pocket money. These extras would double the sum, so that it was officially pronounced that $450 would be ample to cover all expenses and that many students lived on far less.

The resignation of Professor Vethake in the autumn of 1821 under regrettable circumstances, brought on by strained relations between him and the president, was the first of the series of incidents that led to the termination of Dr. Green's administration. For twenty years the first day of the month had been a college holiday. At the September meeting of the board in

[1] The catalogue shows that there were 132, with a representation of 15 out of the 24 States in the Union.

1821 it was decided to abolish this breathing spell, and in its place to lengthen the spring vacation. The following February the undergraduates petitioned for a holiday, and the faculty quoted the new rule. The petitioners politely replied that they would be obliged to absent themselves from all recitations on the day in question if a holiday were not granted; which they did. There was no disorder, and the faculty took a lenient view of the incident. But in March a record cracker of three or four pounds was fired, and the perpetrators of the outrage were detected and dismissed. The trustees, however, considered it time that another investigation were made as to college discipline and conduct, and as to the effect on public opinion.[1] The results were far-reaching. It was declared that the various combinations of the students against the faculty, the holiday incident in February, and the recent cracker affair had all contributed to the loss of reputation which the College had suffered. The committee advised that Professor Vethake's vacant chair and Professor Green's be united in a new chair to be called that of mathematics and natural philosophy; and that in the next year an incumbent should be elected, this meaning of course that Mr. Green's services would probably not be retained. It was also recommended that a tutor be appointed to assist the new professor. Dr. Green objected to this scheme on general principles and not, so he says, because his son was concerned; and at the autumn meeting of the board (September, 1822) he handed in his resignation and subsequently declined a re-election as a trustee. He lived to become, as it were, the patriarch of the American Presbyterian

[1] The number of students had dropped to 115 (catalogue of 1821).

Church, dying in 1848. That the College had suffered a distinct loss of reputation during the last year or two was universal opinion. Grimly in earnest though he had been, Dr. Green's administration had not proved to be as happy as had been expected. The College had made little or no progress under him.

Dr. John Holt Rice of Richmond and Professor Philip Lindsly both declined election, but in May, 1823, the Reverend Dr. James Carnahan, a graduate of the class of 1800, and at this time the headmaster of a successful school at Georgetown, D.C., was elected, and in August he was inaugurated. During the past eleven months Dr. Lindsly had been acting as president, and with four tutors constituted the faculty, the important chair of mathematics and natural philosophy, with chemistry and astronomy added for good measure, being assigned to young John Maclean.

Though the trustees thanked Professor Lindsly for his conduct of affairs, nevertheless they went on record to the effect that discipline had been extremely lax, specifying as examples the habit students had contracted of clustering around stage-coaches at tavern doors, using intoxicating liquors, going to neighboring towns and villages for feasting and dissipation, sitting up late in their rooms, going on walks and visits around the town, and remaining out late at night. Dr. Maclean flatly denies the accuracy of this report of conditions; and he gives the impression that, while there may have been cases of the above high crimes and misdemeanors, personal feeling against Lindsly entertained by certain members of the board had more to do with their unfavorable report than anything else.[1]

Dr. Carnahan would not have accepted the presidency

[1] Maclean, "History," Vol. II, p. 235.

had he known of the divided counsels of its governors. He had not kept in close touch with the conditions at Princeton and had accepted the election hastily. When he found out the real state of affairs, the conflict of interests and views that Dr. Green had left behind him as a heritage, he was for resigning at once. Professor Maclean's insistence alone kept him in Princeton. His first trial of strength with the undergraduate body came speedily. First term was scarcely well begun when there occurred another " cracker " episode. An undergraduate was dismissed without hearing. Remonstrance on the part of his companions followed, which the faculty ignored, and in consequence a number asked for honorable dismissal. Where the request was indorsed by parents or guardians it was granted, and about a third of the students left on their own responsibility, many of them later seeking readmission. Naturally the version of this affair that found its way into the public press did not tend to add to the reputation of the College.

The war clouds lifted for one brief day in September, 1824, to let an echo of the past enliven the campus, when the Marquis of Lafayette reached Princeton on his triumphal progress through the United States. He received an address of welcome and congratulation, attended certain ceremonies on the front campus in a hastily erected " Temple of Science " made of pseudo-classic white columns, with the Peale portrait of Washington as a background, accepted the diploma for the honorary degree of doctor of laws conferred on him in 1790 by President Witherspoon and bearing the latter's signature, and attended a formal breakfast in the refectory, which was decorated for the occasion beyond all recognition. And then hostilities were resumed. A cracker

was fired against the door of the long-suffering and ever-hated prayer-hall; another was exploded at the president's front door. The customary investigations and dismissals ensued, with threats of lawsuits on both sides. But with this the era of crackers and violent disorders came to an end.

In 1825 the board appointed to the chair of languages vacated by Lindsly, who had suddenly been called to the presidency of the University of Nashville, a man whose work during the four years of his stay was of the highest order, and whose influence might have been lasting could he have been retained. Robert Bridges Patton was a graduate of Yale in the class of 1817 and one of the pioneer group of Americans to seek the training of a German university. He was the first member of the Princeton faculty to hold a German doctorate, that of Göttingen.[1] He brought back with him the methods and ideals of German scholarship and immediately made his presence felt by forming the "Nassau Hall Philological Society" and turning over to its use his private library of fifteen hundred volumes. A description of this remarkable collection is to be found in James W. Alexander's "Familiar Letters." Its presence was an important acquisition for the College, for, although it was framed along the lines of classical philology, it included a fairly wide range of general European literature.[2]

The object of the Philological Society, so we are informed by the catalogue of its library, was to provide

[1] Thirty years passed before another German doctor of philosophy, Arnold Guyot, joined the faculty. After Dr. Guyot, the next holder of a German degree came in Dr. McCosh's time.

[2] The College library at this time was subscribing to "the four principal reviews," says Dr. Alexander in his "Familiar Letters," and several scientific periodicals, while no less than thirty journals of different kinds were being taken by the members of the faculty.

a reference collection in classical literature, to encourage more extensive and critical reading of the classics than was usual in American colleges, to afford assistance in studying modern languages, to enable the prosecution of graduate study in philological and literary subjects, to procure the incunabula of classical literature, to carry on meetings for discussion, criticism, lectures, translation, illustration, and any other exercises to give interest to the meetings and keep alive a " tone of literary excitement " among its members. One of the first results of Professor Patton's presence was the preparation, by the senior class, of an edition of the " Seven Against Thebes," which was published by the local printer. But Professor Patton had fallen upon soil unable to support him and he resigned in 1829 to take charge of " Edgehill," a well-known preparatory school at Princeton. He took with him his library and the Philological Society came to an untimely end.

Professor Maclean had meanwhile become responsible for the beginnings of a movement looking toward the establishment of closer relations between the alumni and the College, the bringing into active existence that condition of which President Davies had dreamed. The first step was the founding in 1826 of the " Alumni Association of Nassau Hall," organized to promote the interests of the College and the friendly intercourse of its graduates. A constitution was adopted, in the framing of which George Mifflin Dallas of the class of 1810, and later vice-president of the United States, took a leading part; the venerable James Madison of 1771 was elected its first president, and Professor Maclean was made secretary, a post which he held for over half a century. An alumni feature was introduced into

commencement by the Halls in alternately inviting a distinguished graduate to deliver a public address the evening before commencement, and for thirty years this "Alumni Address" formed a popular feature. The addresses were published annually, and one or two became contemporary classics, finding their way even into school readers and books of declamation.

The establishment of chairs in law and medicine had been once more discussed in 1825, but when funds were so low that the alumni luncheon at commencement was being paid for by the faculty, nothing could come of the discussion. The number of students was shrinking again, until in 1827 there were only eighty and in 1829 seventy in residence. College fees were trimmed down in the hope that students would be attracted by the cheapness of an education at Princeton.[1] When cheapness failed to produce the result expected, salaries were cut to reduce running expenses. In 1828, for example, the total income was $6,147, while the budget was $6,900, and the deficit of $753 loomed so large that the sorely driven members of the faculty were again the sufferers. A reduction of salaries went into effect, by which a balance was shown of some $400. But the only other result was that six months later the treasurer and two of the three professors resigned.

Intensely discouraged, Dr. Carnahan had serious

[1] In 1829 undergraduate expenses were reduced to $96 for the winter session and $77 for the summer term, and by economy the annual total could be kept as low as $130.

The estimated minimum and maximum cost per year at Princeton for the last 85 years has been given in the annual catalogues as follows:

1828	$ 174.00	1878	$ 304-579.00
1838	$ 163-197.00	1888	$ 313-651.00
1848	$ 198.00	1898	$ 329-663.00
1858	$ 193-281.00	1908	$ 381-729.00
1868	$ 288-397.00	1913	$ 364-748.00

thought of recommending the closing of the institution until brighter days should dawn. He was already falling into his rôle of passivity, while John Maclean, with all the energy of his splendid constitution, his mental alertness, and his unwavering faith in the College, was fighting every inch of the downhill road. Into the breach he stepped with the plan which arrested the dry rot that had been setting in. Confident that the hope of the College lay not in cheapening the cost to students to the point of charity, but in strengthening the faculty and thus drawing the numbers on whose fees the College depended, he insisted first on the separation of the chair of natural and physical sciences from that of mathematics, a union which had inevitably worked to the neglect of the sciences and invariably resulted in decrease of students. He perceived, as some in higher authority did not, that the sciences had come into the curriculum to stay and demanded consideration not as adjuncts to mathematics, but as subjects by themselves. Next, he devised a plan for enlarging the faculty, and Dr. Carnahan welcoming any scheme that might spell salvation, Maclean carried his plan to the board in 1829, emerging from the general shake-up that ensued with the chair of ancient languages on one shoulder and the vice-presidency on the other. Albert Baldwin Dod of the class of 1822, a young man of marked powers as a teacher, was made instructor in natural philosophy, with the promise of a professorship the next year. Professor Vethake was recalled from Dickinson; John Torrey, by this time an eminent professor of chemistry in New York, was engaged to deliver a course of lectures at Princeton during the summer term; and a well-known teacher of modern languages, Louis Hargous, was similarly appointed to give summer courses in his subjects,

French being already a required freshman subject. For their half-year services Torrey and Hargous were to receive corresponding salaries, while to save further money for the present a year's leave of absence without salary was granted to Vethake, and the tireless Maclean assumed the extra work himself. Joseph Addison Alexander of the class of 1826, though only a young man of twenty, was already showing his amazing facility for linguistics and was made adjunct professor of ancient languages. Meanwhile it was discovered that the lands the College had received from Mr. Elias Boudinot had been entirely forgotten. One lot had been sold, on which $4,000 was due to the College, and there was still a tract of four thousand acres in Pennsylvania at the board's disposal. Maclean by this time had matured other plans for raising money, and in 1830 over $13,000 was collected in cash or pledges. On the basis of these new resources, and by a process of financial juggling at which Maclean was a genius, the faculty had been gradually increased until it now numbered ten, the largest on record, consisting of President Carnahan, in mental and moral philosophy; Maclean, in ancient languages; Dod, in mathematics; Vethake, in natural philosophy; Torrey, in chemistry and natural history; Samuel L. Howell, a local physician, in anatomy and physiology; Hargous, in modern languages; Joseph Addison Alexander, adjunct professor of ancient languages, and two tutors. The lectures on anatomy and physiology were primarily for graduates, and in 1829-1830 there were nine studying under Dr. Howell, while three others were reading chemistry with Torrey.

The indefatigable vice-president next secured funds to have the natural history cabinet restored and cared

for by the appointment of a curator who should also be a lecturer on natural history, and Professor Benedict Jaeger was secured. Mr. Jaeger was at the same time appointed professor of Italian and German, and, on Mr. Hargous' subsequent resignation, was made professor of modern languages.

Dr. Maclean had also galvanized the Alumni Association into active interest, and, through it money had been raised for the support of the chair of modern languages and for the creation of a fund for indigent students not candidates for the ministry—the first time that they had received recognition. Now the Association came forward with the proposition that a new dormitory was an imperative necessity. East College was accordingly erected in 1832, followed four years later by West College.

In the summer of 1832 Professor Vethake was called to New York University, and his departure opened the door for the election of the man who was to be the greatest distinction to the scientific faculty of ante-bellum Princeton. Again it was Dr. Maclean who brought his name forward. He had heard Joseph Henry, the Albany school-teacher, well spoken of; Professors Torrey and Benjamin Silliman heartily indorsed him, and Dr. Carnahan acquiescing, Maclean wrote to Henry and secured his agreement to come to Princeton. The trustees, somewhat in the dark as to who the candidate was until they read the sheaf of letters of recommendation that Maclean had secured, promptly elected him.

The Alumni Association was at this time gallantly trying to raise $100,000, and although it had to be satisfied with only half that amount, it nevertheless enabled the College to buy a new telescope and to add to the faculty, in 1833, James W. Alexander, the former tutor,

as professor of belles lettres, and in 1834 John S. Hart as adjunct professor of languages, and Stephen Alexander as adjunct professor of mathematics.[1]

It seemed, too, as if at this time the Law School were an assured fact, for in 1835 funds were secured, but the lecturers chosen failing to accept their appointments the project was once more laid aside. Meanwhile the curriculum was improving. Optional instruction in French, Spanish, Italian, and German was offered by Professor Hargous. Professor Henry was lecturing on architecture and civil engineering besides on his own subject, natural philosophy. Professors Jaeger and Torrey were adding to the scientific collections of the College, Jaeger forming an extensive entomological collection and Torrey gathering one thousand different varieties of local flora as a basis for a botanical course and collection.

In September, 1836, another reminder of an earlier period in its history came to the College in the funeral of Colonel Aaron Burr, son of President Burr, and a graduate of the class of 1772. He was an infant of a few months when his parents moved to Princeton from Newark; blessed with all his father's personal magnet-

[1] Stephen Alexander was a cousin and brother-in-law of Joseph Henry. His connection with the College began in 1833 when he was appointed tutor in mathematics. Soon entering his chosen field, in 1840 he became professor of astronomy, and for the next twenty-seven years made a deep impression on hundreds of young men who came under his teaching. Without adequate instruments and using many a makeshift device, he accomplished much in the way of astronomical observation and in meteorology. He was made professor emeritus in 1877 and died in 1883.

Professor Hart, who was a graduate of 1830, had been a tutor for two years, and remained for two more as professor of ancient languages. Thirty years later he returned to Princeton to take the chair of English, and here he brought his reputation as an authority on rhetoric and English Literature and as the compiler of readers and text-books innumerable on the English language.

ism, he had grown up in the precincts of the College; in Nassau Hall he had delivered his senior oration on the oddly significant subject, " Castle Building "; the Revolution had found him a brave officer; and as time went on he had been raised to the highest dignity but one within the gift of the American people. In his old age, lonely and dishonored, he was wont to spend part of each summer in Princeton. A year or two before his death his old society, the Cliosophic, had invited him to preside at its commencement meeting. It was not strange that he should wish to be buried in the home of his boyhood. His body lay in state in Nassau Hall, where President Carnahan preached a funeral sermon; and escorted by the Mercer Guards, a military band, and a procession composed of the Cliosophic Society, the faculty, and students of College and Seminary, he was buried with full military honors at the foot of his father's grave in the Presidents' Lot.[1]

At about this time occurred an incident known in Princeton annals as the " Rape of the Cannon," which led, in 1875, to what was called the " Cannon War " between Princeton and Rutgers. The " Rape " is worthy of passing comment not only because it restored to the Princeton campus a landmark, but principally because it was the earliest appearance of any college spirit among the undergraduates. Of the three cannon left in or near Princeton during the Revolution the largest had lain for years on the campus near the site of the present library. Borrowed by New Brunswick during the War of 1812, it had been left on the Common, where it

[1] The false stories of Colonel Burr's funeral are disposed of by the contemporary account in the *Princeton Whig*, and by narratives in the Record of the class of 1838, who as sophomores took part in the occasion. See also Hageman, " History of Princeton," Vol. II, p. 317.

remained until the night before July 4, 1836, when a party of " Princeton Blues," a local military organization, went to New Brunswick to bring it back. The wagon broke down at Queenston on the outskirts of Princeton, and the gun was again left where it fell. One night in 1838 about one hundred students evaded the vigilance of Vice-President Maclean and dragged the gun on to the campus, leaving it in front of Nassau Hall. In 1840 it was planted muzzle down, where it stands today in the center of the quadrangle behind Nassau Hall. Meanwhile one of the two smaller Revolutionary cannon had been lying for over half a century on the College sidewalk, and after brief service as a corner-post it was taken, in 1858, by the Junior Class and planted between the two Halls. This was the gun which in April, 1875, a party of Rutgers students dug up and carried off to New Brunswick under the impression that it was the gun recovered from New Brunswick in 1836. The " Cannon War " ensued. A rescue party soon appeared at Rutgers and destroyed property in their effort to find the missing relic. The dispute was settled by a joint committee of both faculties, and the gun was at length returned to its owners, who replanted it so firmly that nothing but an earthquake could now dislodge it.

The financial condition of the College in 1844 was clearly stated in a report made to the board of trustees. The buildings and equipment of the College, including Nassau Hall, the houses of the president, vice-president, three professors and the steward, the library building and its duplicate the philosophical hall, East and West Colleges, and the books in the library, were insured for $43,000. The College owned in round numbers $22,817 in bank stock, etc., and had debts amounting to $24,018.

The total annual expenses were $13,978, covering a salary budget (ten teaching and six administrative officers) of $12,085; interest and insurance charges of $1,223; repairs, $500; commencement expenses, $90; printing and postage, $80. The income from interest on investments and from student fees for general purposes was $13,413, leaving a deficit of $565. The charitable funds amounted to $28,966, producing an income of $1,752, which was not available for general purposes.

That Dr. Maclean had correctly diagnosed the situation and its remedy was amply proved, for the enlargement of the faculty had been quickly followed by increase in student numbers. In 1829 there were only seventy undergraduates in College; in 1831 the total had leaped to one hundred and thirty-nine; the following year it was one hundred and fifty; in 1835 it had passed the two hundred mark, and in 1839 it reached two hundred and seventy, having more than trebled in ten years. The lowest number was one hundred and ninety in 1842, and the highest two hundred and seventy-one in 1851-1852. But Dr. Maclean's policy was most worthy of praise for the brilliant and scholarly type of men it brought into the faculty. This period, when there was a distinguished group like Torrey, Henry, Dod, and James W. Alexander lecturing in College, came to an end before the middle of the century. In 1844 Professor Alexander, whose tastes, training, and personality had made him an ideal occupant of the chair of belles lettres, resigned to take a New York pastorate. In 1845 occurred, at the age of forty, the death of Professor Dod, in whom mathematics was only one expression of remarkable higher intellectual versatility, as his essays in the *Princeton Review* and the fame of his public lec-

tures on architecture prove; and in 1848 the Smithsonian Institution demanded the services of Joseph Henry.[1]

For several years thereafter Professor Henry gave an annual course of lectures at Princeton and he was made a trustee in 1864, but his chair was not adequately filled for twenty-five years. Elias Loomis, who was to make his mathematical reputation at Yale, occupied it for a year, to be succeeded by Richard S. McCulloh (A.B., 1836) who remained for five years and then also left to make a reputation elsewhere. Professor Stephen Alexander added the duties of the chair to that of astronomy until 1873 when Cyrus Fogg Brackett was called by Dr. McCosh to be Princeton's first professor of physics.

In June, 1846, the plans for a law department at last reached consummation and three professors were appointed—Joseph C. Hornblower, who had just ended

[1] In the library of Princeton University is a document signed and dated by Henry in 1876, giving an extended account of the experiments and researches he made at Princeton. His most important discovery may be described in his own modest language. At Albany he had already invented, he says, "the first electro-magnetic telegraph, in which signals were transmitted by exciting an electro magnet at a distance, by which means dots might be made on paper and bells were struck in succession indicating letters of the alphabet. In the midst of these investigations I was called to Princeton. . . . I arrived in Princeton in November, 1832, and as soon as I became fully settled in the chair which I occupied, I recommenced my investigations . . . and just previous to my leaving for England in 1837, again turned my attention to the telegraph. I think the first actual line of telegraph using the earth as a conductor was made in the beginning of 1836. A wire was extended across the front campus of the College grounds from the upper story of the library building to the Philosophical Hall on the opposite side, the ends terminating in two wells. Through this wire signals were sent from time to time from my house to my laboratory." The celebration, in the autumn of 1858, of the laying of the Atlantic Cable was turned at Princeton not unnaturally into a celebration in honor of Professor Henry. The *Nassau Literary Magazine* for September, 1858, contains a full account of the occasion. The principal address was made by Professor Stephen Alexander, who had worked at Henry's side and had watched him explain his discovery to Morse.

service as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, to the chair of civil law; James S. Green, a trustee of the College and treasurer of both the College and the Seminary, and who had been a State senator, to the chair of jurisprudence; and Richard S. Field, formerly Attorney General of the State and but lately a member of the New Jersey Constitutional Convention, to the chair of constitutional law and jurisprudence. No examination was required for admission to the law department, each student being expected, however, to show testimonials of good moral character and "sufficient literary and scientific attainments." The fees were fifty dollars per session, which covered the use of textbooks in the library and the privilege of attendance on college lectures and at the college chapel. The course was planned to be normally one of three years, but on completion of two years' study the student might apply for the degree of bachelor of laws. If he were already admitted to the bar, he might apply for the degree after one year. For the use of the law school Mr. Field erected a building on Mercer Street later known as Ivy Hall, of which Dr. Samuel Miller is said to have remarked that it would be no sin to worship it, since it resembled nothing in heaven above or in the earth beneath or in the waters under the earth. Worshiped or not, the building has since its relinquishment by the law school proved of great usefulness first as a library and then, on its acquisition by Trinity Church, as a club house in the parochial work of that corporation.

The formal opening of the law school was made a feature in the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the College at commencement in June, 1847. Besides a large number of alumni there were present on this occasion the Vice-President of the United States, George

Mifflin Dallas (1810), the governor, the chief justice, and the chancellor of New Jersey, the chief justice and chancellor of Delaware, a justice of the United States Supreme Court, and several ex-governors of New Jersey. Invitations were sent to the leading institutions and learned societies of the country, and a number of the colleges were represented by delegates. Among the invited guests who could not attend was the venerable Ex-President of the United States, John Quincy Adams, who sent a letter of congratulation.[1] The academic procession formed at the law school building and proceeded to the First Church to listen to the address of Chief Justice Henry W. Green (1820) formally opening the school. Later in the day a centennial address was delivered by Dr. James W. Alexander. On the afternoon of Commencement Day the alumni dinner was served in the quadrangle behind Nassau Hall, beneath a "spacious and commodious tent for the accommodation of about 700 persons." In the company was one alumnus who had been graduated in 1787, and several who had been graduated before 1800. Thirteen formal toasts were proposed and responded to, and ten impromptu toasts were also offered. Among the speakers were Ex-Governor William Pennington (1813) of New Jersey, Bishop Doane, Professor Olmstead of Yale, Nathaniel S. Prime (1804), and Vice-President Dallas.

During 1847-1848 and 1848-1849 there were eight students in the law school, and the first year there were four attorneys also following the course. Law students and other graduate students are not listed in the catalogue after 1849 and there is therefore no record of the

[1] Printed in the pamphlet official report of the celebration, "The first centennial anniversary of the College of New Jersey," Princeton, 1848.

number attending the law school. The announcement of the department was dropped from the catalogue after 1851-1852, although the names of the three professors are retained until 1854-1855. The degree of bachelor of laws was conferred on seven men only—four in 1849, two in 1850, and one in 1852. The law department had been practically abandoned long before this last date, owing to the lack of funds to pay adequate salaries to the lecturers and to develop the plan.

Princeton's attempt to give the State of New Jersey a law school was a failure; but at the opposite end of the State's legal ladder the University has been strikingly successful. Since 1776, twelve of the twenty-four attorneys-general of New Jersey, thirty-one of the seventy associate justices of the Supreme Court, seven of the thirteen chief justices (not including two who declined), and seven of the nine chancellors of the State, have been Princeton graduates.

A sensible change in the annual calendar, suggested by Dr. Maclean, had gone into effect in 1844, by which commencement was moved from September to June. Up to this time Commencement Day had been the last Wednesday in September followed by a vacation of six weeks, after which the winter term opened, running until April, and followed by a vacation of five weeks which, in turn, was succeeded by the summer term, ending with Commencement Day. Under the new plan the winter term of nineteen weeks began six weeks after commencement in June, and was followed by a vacation of six weeks and the spring term of twenty-one weeks, ending at commencement. This change of season did much to abolish the undignified features that had grown up around commencement during the course of a century.

The prayer-hall in Nassau Hall having been outgrown,

a new chapel was erected in the spring of 1847. This building, which was removed in 1896, to make room for the university library, after the erection of Marquand Chapel became the "Old Chapel," so long associated with certain famous courses in oratory and public speaking and with the riotous Washington Birthday exercises of the eighties and nineties. The prayer-hall was converted into a picture gallery, and after the fire of 1855 it became the college library and later a general museum, until in 1906 it was remodeled as the faculty room. It is Princeton's most historic apartment.

Dr. Maclean had further opportunity a little later to show his zeal for the administrative liberty of the College and his consummate belief in it when the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church developed its plan for establishing schools and colleges under control of the presbyteries and synods of the Church. While certain colleges yielded outright to the pressure or accepted compromises, Maclean, true to the spirit of the charter and of the founders, protested against the whole scheme and fought successfully against its application to Princeton. But the movement emphasized the necessity of creating an endowment for the College so that it might be free of constant calls for aid; and to Dr. Maclean and Professor Matthew B. Hope, who had succeeded Professor Alexander in the chair of belles lettres, is due the credit for the scheme. Over $100,000 was raised for scholarships, the chairs of mental and moral philosophy and of geology and physical geography were endowed, and in 1854 it became possible to secure the services of Professors Lyman H. Atwater and Arnold Guyot.

In June, 1853, President Carnahan, whose administration had now lasted thirty-one years, resigned. He was in his seventy-eighth year. Not being ready to elect his

successor, the board of trustees requested him to remain in office until commencement in 1854. On the whole, he was justified in looking back with satisfaction on his long incumbency, the longest in the history of the College. When he entered office in 1823 the College was in a state bordering on demoralization, and the number of students was shrinking steadily, reaching the low figure of seventy in 1829. During the last twenty years of his presidency, however, the average number in residence had been two hundred and thirty, with the highest number two hundred and seventy-one in 1852. In 1823 his faculty had consisted of two professors and two tutors; when he resigned he left a faculty of six professors, two assistant professors, three tutors, and a teacher of modern languages. Over seventy-five thousand dollars had been spent on buildings, on improving[1] and enlarging the campus and the equipment of the College, while endowments for scholarships and professorships had been collected to the amount of more than one hundred thousand dollars. Under him 1,677 students had taken their degrees. Except the single rebellion in the winter of his accession no organized combination against authority had occurred for thirty years, nor had College exercises been suspended or interrupted once on that score.[2]

He had seen twenty-two professors and forty-three tutors come and go and only one officer of the College, a member of the faculty when he came in 1823, was still with him—John Maclean. To this man, and to the close

[1] For example, Dr. Carnahan cut down the rows of poplars which an earlier administration had planted on the campus and substituted elms.

[2] Cholera had broken out in the village of Princeton in August, 1832, and so many students were called home by their parents that the College was closed for the remaining few weeks of the summer term. This was the only occasion during Dr. Carnahan's presidency that a session was in any way curtailed.

and beautiful friendship that existed between him and President Carnahan, the latter's administration owes almost all it has. In the words of Dr. DeWitt,[1] "the administration of Dr. Carnahan, especially from 1829 until his resignation in 1853, was a collegiate administration in which the two colleagues labored as one man." But for many years Dr. Carnahan was little more than a figure-head. This may have been due in part to his calm, magnanimous, and patient character, and in part to the liberty of action he gave to his faculty and to which Dr. DeWitt has alluded; but there can be no question that he by no means lived up to the measure of his campus nickname. If anyone deserved to be called "Boss" in those days it was Vice-President Maclean, and not Dr. Carnahan, and in his letter of resignation he paid full tribute to the services of his junior colleague.

A strong effort to induce Joseph Henry to accept the vacant presidency met with his refusal to leave the Smithsonian and when an attempt to elect the Reverend Dr. David Magie of Elizabeth, New Jersey, also failed,—he strongly advocated Dr. Maclean,—the latter was elected.

Well over fifty, President Maclean had no longer the vigor of earlier days; but it is possible that the quiet growth which even so marks his administration would have been larger had his term of office not encountered a series of misfortunes. The year after his election Nassau Hall was once more destroyed by fire; then ensued a period of financial depression in the country and his project for obtaining endowments had to be laid aside; the Civil War followed and over a third of the students left College for their Southern homes, while

[1] "Princeton College Administrations in the Nineteenth Century," *Presby. and Ref. Rev.*, October, 1897, p. 647.

others answered the call to the Northern army; entering classes were small and the total therefore remained stationary. With the end of the war arose a set of conditions, educational and national, that were distinctly different from those under which he had been trained, and calling for a leadership which his long service under another order of things had not prepared him to give. His presidency therefore very properly brings the old era to an end.

His inaugural, delivered at commencement, 1854, frankly declares he would aim at no innovations but rather at the extension and improvement of the course of study laid out by his predecessors. He proposed still to insist on the general training afforded by a carefully balanced curriculum required of all students as being best suited to give the liberal preparation needed before devoting oneself to the special preparation for a profession. Dr. Maclean was expressing once more the cardinal educational principle for which Princeton had stood and is still standing, viz.: that there is a fundamental body of cultural studies which every educated man should be required to pursue for a time before he follows his own taste or prepares for a chosen profession.

A required curriculum, however, would not mean an inflexible one; and Dr. Maclean proposed to enlarge the curriculum. He would raise the entrance requirements and thus be enabled to introduce better courses; and this he hoped would lead to the gradual decline of the common practice of entering college in one of the later years of the course. All of this he planned to do by means of increased endowments which would enable him also to admit to college students of ability not possessed of the necessary funds to pay their way, to place existing professorships on a better footing, and to establish

new ones. As for discipline, he declared he would not countenance any system of espionage but would exercise "careful oversight" over his charges—"not being angels ourselves, we shall not expect our pupils to be angels, nor shall we expect them to have all the discretion of old men of mature minds." Nevertheless he maintained the system of close personal oversight he had developed during his long administration of discipline and the recollection of those who knew him in their student days is chiefly a recollection of him as a disciplinarian—unceasingly vigilant, ever lenient, easily deceived, generous,[1] and picturesque—but a disciplinarian after all.

It is clear from his inaugural that Dr. Maclean had nothing but the American college idea in his mind. There is no hint of the university note. Whether he would have realized his plans for growth is open to grave question. But he never got the chance. One after another the College was to receive shocks that kept it down.

In spite of the general financial depression at this time, and the shock of civil war, the actual increase in vested funds during the fourteen years of Dr. Maclean's presidency, after all expenses had been met including the restoration of Nassau Hall, was not less than $240,000, of which $115,000 was for professorships, $55,000 for scholarships, $64,000 for general purposes, and $6,000 for prizes. The total endowment in 1868, when he resigned, amounted to $476,000. It was on this material side that the College made its greatest progress during Dr. Maclean's administration.

On the evening of March 10, 1855, nine months after

[1] For instance, he had accumulated a drawerful of watches and other trinkets left with him by students as pledges for loans made to them, and which they had "neglected" to redeem.

his inauguration, fire broke out once more in Nassau Hall. The two college pumps were unable to supply sufficient water, and little could be done to arrest the flames. By midnight only the walls were left standing. The edifice had been insured for $12,000; funds amounting to $18,000 were subscribed, and the balance of the $50,000 that rebuilding cost was obtained from the excess of receipts over expenditures during the next five years. College exercises had gone on as usual, the students finding quarters in the village.

The destruction of the interior of Nassau Hall gave Dr. Maclean an opportunity to simplify maintenance of discipline. When the building was reconstructed in 1855-1856 the entrances east and west of the main entrance were not restored, and the longitudinal corridors, scenes of constant and ancient disorders, were cut up by transverse walls. The old prayer-hall was extended several feet in the rear and became the library.

A more important disciplinary action taken by President Maclean was known as the "Secret Society Crusade." Greek fraternities in the modern sense made their first appearance at Princeton in 1843,[1] when Beta Theta Pi instituted a chapter which lived three years. This was soon followed by other chapters until ten fraternities were represented.[2] It was believed by the

[1] Chi Phi was founded at Princeton in 1824, but with somewhat different aims from the usual fraternity.

[2] The following list of Princeton chapters from W. R. Baird's "Manual of American College Fraternities" (7th ed., New York, 1912) is believed to be complete: Beta Theta Pi, 1843-1846; Delta Kappa Epsilon, 1845-1857; Zeta Psi, 1850-1884; Delta Psi, 1851-1853; Chi Phi, 1851-1860, 1864-1868; Kappa Alpha, 1852-1856; Phi Kappa Sigma, 1853-1876; Sigma Phi, 1853-1858; Chi Psi, 1851-1857; Delta Phi, 1854-1877; Theta Delta Chi, 1863-1867; Sigma Chi, 1869-1882. Acknowledgment is due to Mr. Baird for valuable aid in collecting materials for the history of Greek fraternities at Princeton.

authorities that the fraternities were not to the advantage of the College; that they were endeavoring unduly to win college honors for their own members; that they often supported their members in cases of discipline, and that their influence, even when directed toward social enjoyment and literary pursuits, was injurious to the work of the two Halls—in one of the Halls the tense situation came to blows—and it was believed that the value of these two institutions was too great to be lightly tampered with. The first move against the fraternities was taken in 1853 when parents and guardians were notified that henceforth all students would be required to promise to have nothing to do with any societies not sanctioned by the authorities, and asking parents and guardians to co-operate with the faculty in furthering the object of the promise. The next year the faculty exacted a promise from each student that he would not join a fraternity while remaining in College. Many of the societies regarded this pledge as void, being given under duress, and continued activity. In some cases students frankly recalled their pledge when they joined a fraternity. But when this became a general practice the faculty issued an ultimatum that anyone joining a society would be dismissed, and the board indorsed the faculty's action. The pledge and the board's resolution were published in the catalogue first in 1856-1857, and the pledge has remained a Princeton matriculation requisite. The pledge resulted in the suppression of most of the Princeton chapters. A few maintained existence and kept up a guerrilla warfare with the authorities which did not come to an end until in Dr. McCosh's time.

The growth of Princeton's popularity in the South under Witherspoon has already been pointed out. This

Southern tradition continued into the next century. At times, half the student body was Southern, and in 1859-1860 more than a third came from Southern States, although twenty-six of the thirty-one States in the Union were represented in the geographical provenience of the undergraduates. Largely sons of rich planters, and accustomed to the freer life of Southern homes, these young men found the routine and discipline of the College insufferably chafing, and it is not surprising that their names appear only too frequently in the records as incurring the wrath of the gods who sat in the " Court House," as the president's study was called. Their attractive personal qualities on the other hand led to the formation of the warmest friendships, and when the Civil War came on there was at Princeton accordingly far less of violent partisanship and bitterness of feeling than was found in most Northern colleges. On the contrary, the most general feeling on the campus was one of deep sadness, as reference to contemporary editorials in the *Nassau Literary Magazine,* and the reminiscences of graduates of that period show. The Southerners began to be called home in February, 1861; by March the exodus had become noticeable, and finally on April 23, 1861, an entry in the minutes of the faculty records that "in consequence of the state of the country, the following named persons returned home with the consent of the Faculty "—and there follows a list of twenty-two seniors, fourteen juniors, fourteen sophomores, and six freshmen, all Southern. Dr. Maclean supplied them with the necessary funds. They left in a body and were sent off with rousing cheers.

What type of men these were may be inferred from the record of one group of Princetonians in the Civil War. The disbanded chapter of Delta Kappa Epsilon,

which had been chiefly Southern in composition, had thirty-nine men eligible in 1861. Of these, thirty-one entered the Confederate Army, twenty-eight becoming commissioned officers. Three others in this group became officers in the Union Army.

The effect of the outbreak of hostilities on the classes in College was immediate. Twenty-four members of the class of 1861 left college before the end of the term. Nineteen members of the class entered the Union Army and one the Union Navy. Six fell in the service. Twenty-one members entered the Confederate Army, four of whom fell in service. The class of 1862, owing to its time of entrance into college and its large proportion of Southerners, suffered most severely, being so shattered by the war that it never was able to maintain an active class organization. At the beginning of its sophomore year (1859) it had prospect of being graduated at least one hundred strong, but at commencement it numbered only forty-eight. In the class of 1863 twelve were serving in the army at graduation and received their degrees *in absentia*. Altogether twenty-two of its members entered the Union service and seventeen the Confederate. To the Confederate side Princeton furnished at least eight brigadier generals, fourteen colonels, and a score of lesser officers. This does not include medical officers and administrative officials. The response on the Union side was of course just as eager; the number of Princetonians who were officers in the Union Army runs above fifty. Unfortunately Princeton's Civil War records are still incomplete, and one of the debts she still owes to the past is a memorial to those of her sons who, on one side or the other, risked and, in many cases, sacrificed their lives for their cause.

The effect of the War on the attendance at Princeton

is easy to register. The undergraduate total in 1860-1861 had been 314, the largest on record; when College opened after the summer of 1861 there were only 221 students, and through the year men kept dropping out to enter the service of the country. Not until the last year of Dr. Maclean's administration were there again as many as 250 undergraduates in residence.

A few Southerners in the lower classes remained in college throughout the War. Discussion of political questions of the hour was barred from the Halls and the eating-clubs, and the faculty maintained peace and decorum in spite of one or two serious outbreaks. An enthusiastic military company of over one hundred, called the "Nassau Cadets," was organized among the undergraduates and added to the general excitement by its daily drill. It never saw service as a company. The fall of Richmond was celebrated on the campus with a solemnity not usual in Princeton celebrations. On the assassination of Lincoln, the chapel and the two Halls were draped in mourning and the college bell was tolled. Party lines were obliterated and the whole College marched to the Junction to see the funeral train go by early in the morning of April 24, 1865. The degree of LL.D. had been conferred *in absentia* on Mr. Lincoln in the preceding year. Princeton has never regained her Southern clientèle, but the ancient affiliation cannot be forgotten as long as her catalogue of graduates and former students contains its roll of noble names from below Mason and Dixon's line.

With the close of the War Dr. Maclean felt that his days of labor were over, and in 1868 he resigned the presidency. He had been a member of the faculty since 1818. When he became president he had already given the best period of his life to the institution, and he was

elected twenty years too late to be expected to do much more than keep the College within the lines he himself had largely shaped.

His influence on the course of study is likewise not to be sought alone in his administration. Only three new professorships—that of geology and physical geography, that of metaphysics and moral philosophy, and that of harmony of science and revealed religion—were inaugurated during his term of office. He did not broaden the curriculum in any very marked degree. But he introduced a number of minor improvements, chiefly by relegating disciplinary studies more and more into the lower-class years and by strengthening the junior year, so that the progressive steps taken by his successor were made so much the easier. The changes in the curriculum instituted during Dr. Carnahan's long administration, as for instance the permanent introduction of modern languages, were as much the work of the vice-president as of the president.

This period saw the entrance into the faculty of a group of teachers, all graduates of the College and all clergymen but one, who were to serve the College for terms of extraordinary length—George M. Giger (1841), for twenty years; Henry C. Cameron (1847), for an even fifty years; John T. Duffield (1841), for over half a century; Charles W. Shields (1844), for nearly forty years, and the layman John S. Schanck (1840), for forty-five years.

Dr. Maclean did not win fame as a scholar, but he won the love of generation after generation of undergraduates. They made fun of his goloshes, his gleaming spectacles, his lantern, and his cloak; they claimed that during his long and strenuous years as vice-president he had worn a trail across the campus between his house

and Dr. Carnahan's; they laughed at him when, as president, but less agile than formerly, he still pursued them into their rooms—as vice-president he had been known to pursue them up into the trees of the campus; but they remembered him lovingly long after they left the scene of their college escapades.

"Those who remember Dr. Maclean only in his later years," writes Dr. DeWitt,[1] "will have difficulty in bringing before them the man who as Vice-President shared with Dr. Carnahan the duty of determining the general policy of the College; and of taking the initiative in the election of Professors, . . . in founding new chairs, in enlarging the number of students, and in settling the principles of College discipline." He had been a man with mentality enough to have become eminent, but, refusing flattering calls elsewhere, he chose as his life-work the day-to-day service of his alma mater, and to him Princeton probably owes her continued existence. After his retirement he resided in Princeton until his death in 1886, a stanch supporter of the new administration, welcoming all the wonderful changes and growth he saw going on about him. He left the institution as he had found it, a small but respectable American college, but in an infinitely better financial condition than at any previous period. Under President Carnahan's and his own rule it passed through the so-called "theological" period. It needed a new force to give it self-possession and confidence for expansion. The man who was to bring this new strength had just visited Princeton, all unsuspecting what fate had in store for him.

[1] *Presby. and Ref. Rev.*, October, 1897, p. 647.

The Halls

V

A CENTURY OF COLLEGE LIFE

College Laws. Chapel. Refectory. The Halls. Eighteenth Century Princetonians. Commencement. Fourth of July. Horsing. College Customs. College Colors and Cheer. Athletics. Religious Life. Early Nineteenth Century Princetonians.

THE material and intellectual transformation wrought by the administration which succeeded Dr. Maclean's was necessarily accompanied by a corresponding change in college life. Discarding long-standing pettinesses of discipline, the new dispensation stamped out immemorial disorders and by swift degrees swept away most of the old simplicity and inadequacies; college life suddenly became maturer. The present is thus a favorable point from which to survey college laws and customs during the first century of Princeton's existence.

Some account of undergraduate life at Newark has been given in an earlier chapter. When the College moved from Newark to Princeton in 1757 the new conditions demanded additional regulations. At once began the system of espionage which lasted for more than a century, and which in the long run defeated its own ends. Tutors made the rounds of Nassau Hall at least three times a day to " direct and encourage " the students, and to see that they were " diligent at their proper Business," making their presence known at a closed door " by a stamp, which signal," says the law, " no scholar shall imitate on penalty of 5/." If the occupant of the room refused to open the door the officer had the right

to break his way in.[1] Cutting, marking, or otherwise defacing the new building rendered one liable to four-fold payment of the actual damage. Each piece of furniture in a room was numbered to correspond with the room, and to remove any marked article was a serious offense. To " prevent soiling the Floors " each student was required to " clean his Shoes " on entering Nassau Hall, and to keep his room " neat and clean "; and public health and general decency formulated a sanitary rule against committing nuisances which may be left solitary in its original and conspicuous Latin.

Four shillings per quarter was charged for making beds and sweeping rooms, and an extra shilling was collected from those who smoked or chewed tobacco. Students were forbidden to make or to read publicly any " pointed declamations which might tend to injure or expose the character of any person." No one living in Nassau Hall, not even a graduate student, was allowed to " make an entertainment or treat in the college, at the public examinations, commencement, or at any time whatever." And in 1758 the freshman class having filed a petition for the removal of their tutor for incompetence, a rule was passed forbidding presentation to the board of trustees of any petition or complaint against a tutor without the previous permission of the president or three trustees.

Not later than 1760 a code of " Orders and Customs " was drawn up, hardly different in spirit, or indeed in phraseology here and there, from the code already in use at Harvard and subsequently at Yale, except that the Princeton rules, with one exception, seem to have been

[1] In the middle of the nineteenth century it became common to have double doors to rooms in Nassau Hall, a device which proved extremely useful in delaying inspection and in giving occupants time to hide evidences of law-breaking.

intended for grammar scholars and undergraduates alike, and not for freshmen only as was the case with the New England college rules. The exception set forth that " Every Freshman sent on an Errand shall go and do it faithfully and make quick return." The code was made an appendix to President Burr's " Newark Latin Grammar," of which a new edition was issued by the trustees for use at Princeton. The majority of the rules in this code concern deportment, and demand constant deference to superiors. Students are to keep their hats off " about 10 rods to the President and about 5 to the tutors "; they must " rise up and make obeisance " when the president enters or leaves the prayer-hall, and when he mounts into the pulpit on Sundays. When walking with a superior, an inferior " shall give him the highest place." When first coming into the presence of a superior, or speaking to him, inferiors " shall respect by pulling their Hats "; if overtaking or meeting a superior on the stairs, " shall stop, giving him the banister side "; when entering a superior's, " or even an equal's," room they must knock; if called or spoken to by a superior they must " give a direct pertinent answer concluding with sir "; they are to treat strangers and townspeople " with all proper complaisance & good manners "; and they are forbidden to address anyone by a nickname.

That the longitudinal brick-paved corridors in Nassau Hall, or " entries " as they were called, invited noisy behavior because of their length and darkness, was at once recognized by the authorities, and one of the first rules passed at Princeton—a rule which remained on the books for over a century in almost identical wording and whose purport at least was preserved in a college law as late as 1902,—declared that " No jumping or hol-

lowing or any boisterous Noise shall be suffered, nor walking in the gallery in the time of Study.'' The basement '' entry '' became a favorite place for hoop-rolling by the grammar scholars and for battledore and shuttlecock among older boys; in the upper entries rolling heated cannon-balls, to tempt zealous but unwary tutors, was a perennial joy, and at a later epoch there are allusions to wild scenes, when a jackass or a calf was dragged rebelliously up the narrow iron staircases to be pitted in frenzied races with the model locomotive purloined from the college museum. On these occasions candles would be stuck against the walls with handfuls of mud. These upper regions, access to which was easily blocked with cord-wood and other barricade material, were inevitably associated with riots and barrings out.[1] The *Nassau Literary Magazine* filed a mild protest when the '' entries '' were cut up by the present transverse walls on the rebuilding after the fire of 1855; the knell of many a time-honored but illegitimate indoor sport was sounded by that iconoclastic alteration.

Frequenting places of public refreshment had been on the list of deadly sins at Newark. At Princeton the laws of 1794 forbade the visiting of '' a tavern, beer house, or any place of such kind,'' and the additional restrictions imposed after the fire of 1802 have been already mentioned. To counteract the service that such resorts might even reputably perform for hungry members of college and to keep undergraduate expenditures within limits, a buttery had been organized as early as 1756, under the supervision of the steward. By 1761 the butler's duties were carefully defined. He was to be on duty every day from breakfast time until eight o'clock and

[1] Cf. Edward Wall (1848), "Reminiscences of Princeton College," Princeton, 1914, p. 25, for an account of the last barring-out.

between twelve and two, and from five until sunset in spring and summer and from five until curfew in autumn and winter, and he was forbidden to sell goods to students at any other hours. He was to " take care to serve every one in his turn, and it is recommended to those of infer^r standing as a piece of good breeding in a general way To give place to superiors." By a rule of 1763, if a student were too ill to go to his meals his requisitions on the butler, when authorized by a college officer, were honored without charge. Personal accounts were examined by the steward once a month and the rise in undergraduate expenditures led to the adoption of a rule in 1764 that no student or grammar scholar " be supplied out of the Buttery with more than to the amount of 32/- in a quarter of a year as that sum is found by a large calculation sufficient for a genteel and plentiful supply of such things as are ordinarily needed from thence. And in particular it is ordered that no one shall have more than half a pound of butter at any one time." Whatever staples the buttery may have carried originally—and they are nowhere listed—it was definitely ordered by the trustees in 1765 that " hereafter no other articles whatsoever be kept in the buttery and sold to the students, save only bread, butter, candles and small beer." How long the buttery was kept up does not appear. It is not mentioned after the Revolution as a college institution, although suggested by a trustees' committee in Dr. Green's time as a possible solution of the tavern and cake-shop problem.

An early rule forbids loitering about the kitchen fire in Nassau Hall as it " interrupts the servants." When the new kitchen was erected in 1762 outside Nassau Hall students were absolutely forbidden to enter its doors, and " to their making Tea in the after noon " it

was ordered that they should " have a fire in the old kitchen room."

To the law of 1794 against frequenting taverns and beer-houses President Green added, in 1819, the formidable dietary rule that no student should " resort to any house or shop where confectionery, or other articles of diet or drink are sold, or purchase at such house or shop, or from the proprietor of the same, any article whatever, unless the faculty of the college shall have publicly signified to the students that such house or shop may be resorted to for the purchase of the articles contemplated—which articles the faculty may specify if they judge it expedient." In brief course of time this rule, crushed by its own weight, became a dead letter.

If convicted of possessing an indecent picture or any " lascivious, impious or irreligious book," or of " lying, profaneness, drunkenness, theft, uncleanness, playing at unlawful games "—(subsequently defined as cards, dice, and backgammon)—" or other gross immoralities," the student was to be punished either by admonition, public reproval, or expulsion. Nor might a student keep for use or pleasure " any horse or riding beast," nor dog, nor gun, nor firearms and ammunition of any kind. At the time of the " Great Rebellion " in 1817 the list of forbidden weapons was extended to include " sword, dirk, sword-cane, or any deadly weapon whatever." Dueling, or sending a challenge, was forbidden at least as early as 1813 and the rule remained on the books until 1870.

Samuel Blair's " Account of the College of New Jersey," issued in 1764 by authority of the board of trustees, is the earliest official description that we possess of the domestic administration of the College. After a historical sketch the author takes up the regulations of which he assures us the design has been " to

fix upon a medium, between too great a licentiousness on the one hand, or an excessive precision on the other." The penalties were "generally of the more humane kind," and were at once "expressive of compassion to the offender, and indignation at the offense." It should be said that compassion for parents of offenders had by this time practically abolished the older punishment known in official parlance as "pecuniary mulcts." Discipline was now administered by reasoning with the offender, resulting in private reprimand, or "public formal admonition," or "penitent confession in the hall before the whole house," or deprivation of class privileges, or prohibition from "free conversation with his fellow-students and admission into their chambers," or suspension until the case could be laid before the trustees. This last was the highest censure in the power of the faculty, the power of expulsion being vested in the board.

College class distinctions were strictly maintained, but it is not clear that any social distinctions were preserved at Princeton as they were elsewhere. In each of the four classes students remained a year, "giving and receiving in their turns those tokens of respect and subjection which belong to their standings in order to preserve a due subordination." What these tokens were Mr. Blair does not state. The bell rang for morning prayers at six in 1764,—later moved back to five,—when a senior "read off a chapter from the original into English." The president then proposed a few critical questions on the passage and after "concise answers," he "illustrated more at large." There were two recitations a day, and the "times of relaxation from study" were about an hour in the morning, two at noon, and three in the evening, meals being served within these periods. Evening prayer, by 1764, was opened with

singing, and care was taken to " improve the youth in the art of sacred music," although the success of the effort was doubtful. Mr. John Adams remarked, ten years later, that the students sang as badly as the Presbyterians of New York, which (if Mr. Adams' opinion is of any value) would imply that they had not advanced far beyond the scriptural stage of making a " joyful noise."

As a source of friction compulsory chapel was second only to compulsory commons. The first rule framed by the authorities to brighten chapel exercises had been passed in 1760, when it was ordered that at morning prayers a student should read the lesson in the original, and that at evening prayer " psalmody " might be substituted for the lesson. With this ameliorating resolution is indirectly connected the graduation, in September, 1759, of James Lyon, father of American hymnology. An ode set to music by him and sung by the students had been a feature of the commencement programme of 1759. In the following spring subscriptions were invited for his " Urania," a proposed collection of psalm-tunes and anthems, " and a number of Dr. Watt's and Mr. Addison's Hymns set to Music," with the rules of psalmody prefixed, a volume on which he had been working while an undergraduate. Of the list of one hundred and forty-one subscribers one-fourth were officers and students of the College, taking fifty of the one hundred and ninety-nine copies ordered. At commencement in 1760, odes to " Peace " and " Science " written by President Davies were sung by the students. No copy of the " Ode to Science " seems to have survived, but a copy of the " Ode to Peace," preserved in the University library, shows that Lyon wrote the music. In October, 1760, psalmody in chapel was

authorized by the trustees, and when the first sheets of "Urania" were issued in November singing became for the first time a part of chapel services at Princeton.[1]

The organ mentioned elsewhere was purchased by subscription about this time. Music was not confined, however, to chapel. One reads early of flutes, guitars, and violins in Nassau Hall; and that there were campus songs in existence before the Revolution is proved by certain manuscripts of William Paterson of the class of 1763, containing songs with titles such as "Cupid Triumphant," "Pauvre Madelon," "Jersey Blue," and "Honest Harry O."[2]

Returning to Mr. Blair's "Account"—care was taken, so he tells us, to cherish a spirit of liberty and free inquiry; and not only "to permit but even to encourage the right of private judgment," a statement that must not be accepted too literally.

[1] James Lyon's part in the introduction of music into chapel exercises at Princeton is illustrative of the influence the colleges had on the development of colonial musical life. (See Sonneck, "Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon," Washington, 1905.) The anthem sung at the University of Pennsylvania Commencement in 1761 was another of Lyon's compositions, and at Princeton in 1762, when he came up for his master's degree, "The Military Glory of Great Britain: A Musical Entertainment," was sung by the undergraduates, and with little doubt may be ascribed to him.

[2] See W. J. Mills, "Glimpses of Colonial Society," Philadelphia, 1903. Princeton's best known song, "Old Nassau," written by a freshman, H. P. Peck of the class of 1862, as a prize poem in the *Nassau Literary Magazine* and published in the issue of March, 1859, and for which the music was written by Mr. Carl Langlotz, instructor in German in the College, was first sung late in 1859 or early in the spring of 1860 on the appearance of the original Princeton song-book, "Songs of Old Nassau," edited by A. J. Hetrick of 1860, and a pioneer of its kind. By June, 1861, it was generally known and frequently sung. War songs then supplanted college songs, but immediately after the war "Old Nassau" returned to popularity, although its use as the special Princeton hymn dates only from about the middle eighties.

In August of their college course, in presence of the trustees, faculty, and any other " gentlemen of learning " who cared to be present, seniors underwent a public comprehensive examination in all the subjects they had studied, and if approved their parts in the exercises of Commencement Day were assigned to them.

When he describes " the manner and expense " of college commons Mr. Blair admits that an account of the " economy of a kitchen and dining room " would under ordinary circumstances be " low and vulgar," but he reminds his readers that " proper regulation of these matters is of more consequence " to a collegiate community " than a thousand things that would make a more shining figure in description "—a truth that was only too often forgotten. The kitchen, at first in the basement of Nassau Hall, had by 1764 been moved outside of the building and the dining-room originally on the first floor was later also moved into another adjoining edifice. The fare was as liberal as the price allowed. Tea and coffee were served at breakfast—what else is not stated. At dinner the tables were graced by " every variety of fish and flesh " that the markets afforded, " and sometimes pyes." This item was the nearest approach to those " luxurious dainties " and " costly delicacies " which could not be looked for among the " viands of a college where health and economy are alone consulted in the furniture of the table." The general drink was " small beer and cyder " for dinner, while for supper milk was the standard allowance; and " Some of the young gentlemen chuse, at times, and are indulged, to make a dish of tea in their apartments provided it be done after evening prayers."

Rules governing conduct in the refectory were issued in 1759. Students might not enter the dining-room until

a tutor arrived. When the bell rang they were to go "peaceably to the door of the dining room" and, arranging themselves in classes, wait "for five minutes if necessary," for a tutor. No meal began and none ended without a grace, and no student might leave the table before the closing grace unless sent from the room for misbehavior, nor might he linger in the room after the tables had been dismissed. Dinner was the high meal and carried with it certain formalities "to be observed at other meals also, so far as circumstances will admit." Each class had its own table, and students were forbidden to wander from one table to another. A tutor, and sometimes the president himself, presided at the high table where sat seniors and freshmen. Sophomores and juniors sat at a second table with a tutor at its head; while the third table was given to the grammar-scholars and was presided over by the master of the grammar school. The seating was in alphabetical order but progressive, the seat of honor at the tutor's right being occupied in rotation, strangers and resident graduates, however, always receiving priority. Carving was done by the student who for the time being sat highest and by every fourth man from him, the student opposite the carver cutting bread, and he that sat at a carver's right being commissioned to "serve in dealing out provision." Especially was it enjoined that "none shall eagerly catch at a share, but wait till he is served in his turn." In course of time the duty of carving carried a certain amount of privilege, such as laying aside a choice portion for the carver's supper. The office became an elective honor, and the carver's tidbits were pinned by a fork to the underside of the pine table, a larder which unwritten law is said to have strictly respected, stray dogs alone excepted.

Undergraduate effort to fill out the simple fare at commons made poultry stealing an early and frequent practice. Eighteenth-century records show men expelled for this heinous offense; but before the middle of the nineteenth century illicit foraging had been placed on a systematic basis, a colored man, who by day assisted Professor Henry in his laboratory, conducting at night a clandestine and far more remunerative business by hiding in overgrown corners of the unkempt campus stuffed and roasted turkeys and pitchers of ale in exchange for suits of discarded clothing or coin of the realm.

As has been intimated, most of the clashes between faculty and students were of gastronomic origin, from the time of Jonathan Baldwin, the Princeton graduate and Revolutionary worthy and first of a long line of picturesque stewards of Nassau Hall, down to that of Henry Clow, Scotchman by birth, baker by trade, poet by preference (and courtesy), and sometime mayor of the borough. It was Mr. Baldwin's image, molded in his own butter, that was hanged in the refectory one day in 1773, an *argumentum ad hominem* more suggestive but less disastrous than the favorite form of protest sixty years later under Mr. Clow's stewardship, when at a given signal up would go the refectory windows and, tutors to the contrary notwithstanding, out would fly the tablecloths and all that was upon them. Peter Elmendorf of 1782 wrote home that he would " rather diet with the meanest rank of people than with the steward of the College. I often repent that I [ever] saw his face. . . . We eat rye bread, half dough and as black as it possibly can be, and oniony butter, and some times dry bread and thick coffee for breakfast, a little milk or cyder and bread, and sometimes meagre chocolate, for supper, very indifferent dinners, such as lean tough

boiled fresh beef with dry potatoes; and if this deserves to be called diet for mean ravenous people let it be so stiled, and not a table for collegians." An anonymous diarist of 1786 carefully notes days when the fare was more than ordinarily good or poor. "Return from supper," he writes one evening in March, "after eating very little, the butter for a long time past being intolerable, and the bread sour and milk scarcely to be called such." And on another occasion: "The lads all fearful that something extraordinary is going to happen soon, as we had cucumers today for dinner." He enjoys a hearty breakfast one morning, "having good butter by chance"; one evening he has "Chocolate Tea and Bread and Butter for supper, for a wonder, but not to be continued." On another evening, at the home of Mr. James Tod, teacher of French and Princeton's first printer, he drinks "a dish of green tea out of china cups and at an orderly table—for the first time in four months." And surely one dull winter afternoon proved of blessed memory, since "just before Prayers the appleman brings in Eggs & forces a dozen on me To make egg nogg, for tis a glorious liquor, he says."

On New Year's Day and on the Fourth of July the steward seems to have usually made especial effort to prepare an appropriate menu. The occasion was somewhat marred on January 1, 1814, by a blunder on the part of President Green: "Today to refresh us after our labours," writes James M. Garnett, "we had a great dinner, composed of Pigs, Geese, Irish potatoes, minced-pies, hickory nuts, cider, & wine. The President did us the honour to dine with us, and gave us a toast; when he rose to give it he *commanded* silence which want of *politeness* gave such offence to some of our well-bred company that they returned the toast with a

scrape ''—that is, with the time-honored college mark of disapproval, by shuffling their feet.

Cups and saucers and glasses did not appear in the refectory until the middle of the nineteenth century, their place being filled by small white bowls, while spoons were of pewter and knives and forks were of tin.

Philip Fithian, entering college in 1770, considered the rules '' exceedingly well formed to check & restrain the vicious, & to assist the studious, & to countenance & incourage the virtuous,'' and he tells his father the daily schedule. The rising bell rang at five, and lest any student should claim he did not hear, the college servant '' goes to every Door & beats till he wakens the boys, which leaves them without Excuse.'' In later years a horn, that sounded on dark winter mornings like the last trump, was blown in each entry, taking the place of the rising-bell. Roll-call and prayers were at five-thirty, after which came an hour's study. Breakfast was served at eight, and until nine the students were at liberty. From nine to one were recitation and study hours; at one the dinner-bell rang, and until three all were again free. From three to five were study hours and at five was evening chapel, after which came liberty until seven when supper was served. At nine the curfew rang and every student had to be found in his room when the tutors made the rounds. '' After nine,'' says Fithian, '' any may go to bed, but ''—and he notes public opinion—'' to go before is reproachful.'' [1]

These arrangements may have checked the vicious and encouraged the virtuous as Fithian thought, but some years later, musing over life at Nassau Hall, he found no little pleasure in recollecting '' the Foibles '' which prevailed there, such as '' Meeting & Shoving '' in the

[1] " Journal and Letters," p. 8.

dark " entries," " Strowing the entries in the Night with greasy Feathers; freezing the Bell; Ringing it at late Hours of the Night . . . writing witty pointed anonymous Papers, in Songs, Confessions, Wills, Soliloquies, Proclamations, Advertisements &c. . . . Picking from the neighborhood now and then a plump fat Hen or Turkey for the private Entertainment of the Club ' instituted for inventing & practising several new kinds of mischief in a secret polite Manner '—parading bad Women—Burning Curse-John[1]—Darting Sunbeams upon the Town-People, Reconoitering Houses in the Town, & ogling Women with a Telescope—Making Squibs, & other frightful compositions with Gun-Powder, & lighting them in the Rooms of timorous Boys & new comers "—a contemporary form of hazing, and, as Fithian puts it, one of the various methods " used in naturalizing Strangers."

Life in Nassau Hall did not vary. The diary of John R. Buhler (1846) records an existence which was identical with that led by the diarist of 1786. Both authors were skilled in the art of doing as little work as possible; both grumbled at the refectory; both were popular with their fellows. Their diaries contain the same record of oversleeping morning chapel or making it by an eleventh-hour leap from bed, in 1786 at the servant's knocking, in 1846 at the second bell, casting a garment about one's shivering form, to rush out in the dark to roll-call—the picture is completed in the words of the 1786 writer: " I huddle on my clothes anyhow and push into the Hall, all open & unbuttoned, tho' by far

[1] The college outhouse. Evidently a corruption of the Harvard " cus john " or " cuz john," used as early as 1734-1735, and an abbreviation for " Cousin John." (B. H. Hall, " College Words and Customs," revised ed., New York, 1859, p. 216.) Later known at Princeton as " south campus."

the coldest morning of the season, & escape being tardy.'' There is the same lounging in one another's rooms, dodging inquisitive tutors, the same practical joking and scuffling in the unlighted '' entries,'' the same frantic and remorseful cramming on the eve of examinations— '' My spirits a good deal sunk at the thought of examinations so near,'' is the despondent entry of the eighteenth-century youth, as he reviews up to the last moment. Examinations in those days being taken in full dress, about ten o'clock in the morning he gets out his clothes and arrays himself, and soon after '' we all march in like so many criminals, the Faculty take their seats formally & we extend in a great circle round the room, 26 of us.'' Examinations at Princeton were entirely oral until about 1830.

But if study failed to engage all of an undergraduate's serious attention, at least his affiliation with one of the two literary societies gave him plenty to think about. Hall gossip and politics, with rebellions, crackers and barrings-out, formed the chief excitement of college life at Princeton. Toward the end of President Finley's administration two organizations, partly literary and partly social, had been founded under the names of the Well Meaning Club and the Plain Dealing Club. Whatever principles their names may have stood for, the societies soon got into trouble, and in 1768 were suppressed by the faculty. In 1769, under Witherspoon, the Plain Dealing Club was reorganized as the American Whig Society, and in 1770 the Well Meaning Club, which dated its birth in 1765, was reorganized as the Cliosophic Society. Reorganization under more imposing names did not abolish internecine war. The journal of Philip Fithian, certain unpublished poems of Philip Freneau, and the correspondence of other eighteenth-century

alumni, contain frequent allusions to bitter rivalry. The Halls were the only legal safety-valve that undergraduate life possessed, and Hall affairs remained the one constant topic of supreme interest for over a century. Membership being mutually exclusive, and Hall proceedings being secret, College was divided into two distinct camps. At one period members of different Halls never roomed together, Whig men occupying one floor of Nassau Hall and Clios another, an extreme partisanship which was short-lived.

It is difficult for the undergraduate of to-day to appreciate the dominant position that the Halls used to occupy in the life of the campus. Hall campaigning during the first two or three weeks of the fall term was, until almost the end of the nineteenth century, a far more absorbing affair than even the club " bickering " of the present time. Around the Halls centered the friendships and closer intimacies of college life. Rivalries for college honors were drawn on Hall lines, and the keen competition for commencement prizes derived its zest from the same point of view, each successful competitor at commencement being greeted by the vociferous cheers of his fellow Hall-members. The man who was not a member of one or the other Hall was the rarest exception and suffered a sort of social ostracism as a man who was deliberately throwing away the strongest influence for his development that the College offered. Before intercollegiate athletics reached their present state of supremacy, it was in the life of the Halls that a man learned what loyalty to the College meant. Their size, their absolute democracy and self-government, their ancient tradition—no similar organizations in American colleges have so continuous a history—the responsibilities of membership, tending to develop self-reliance and communal

exertion, the regular literary training each man followed in order to obtain the Hall diploma, all of these elements made the Halls an important part of the intellectual life of the College and at the same time kept them from descending in any ignoble way into the arena of college politics, characteristics which they have maintained in spite of the complexity of modern conditions and the consequent diminution of their relative predominance. Of almost equal importance with their social life and their forensic training was the opportunity they provided in the earlier days—or until the founding of the *Nassau Literary Magazine* in 1842 [1]—as the only medium the College offered for free expression to those inclined toward literary production. The political and forensic influence of the Halls is easier to indicate than their literary influence; but, if one of the centers where the beginnings of American literature are to be found was situated in the Middle Colonies, and was stimulated by the influence of the College of New Jersey under Witherspoon,[2] then the Cliosophic and American Whig societies may claim a share in those beginnings. During the Revolution, well at the front if not at the very head of the political satirists, stood, for example, Philip Freneau whose pen had been sharpened in Whig Hall by "paper contentions," but who had also written plenty of serious verse. His classmate, Hugh H. Brackenridge, also a Whig, was more ambitious though not more effective in

[1] Antecedent to the "Lit" were the *Thistle* of 1834, the *Chameleon* of 1835, the *Tatler* and its travesty, the *Rattler*, all satirical and humorous. A seriously literary publication was the *Gem from Nassau's Casket* issued in 1840. Too brittle to last, it was replaced in February, 1842, by the *Nassau Monthly*, which, as the *Nassau Literary Magazine*, has remained the organ of undergraduate literary endeavor.

[2] M. C. Tyler, "Literary History of the American Revolution," Vol. I, p. 11.

his " Battle of Bunker Hill " and his " Death of Montgomery at the Siege of Quebec," dramatic poems published in 1776 and 1777 respectively, and written to inspire American patriotism. It will be remembered that Brackenridge later became editor of the *United States Magazine* and one of the earliest of American novelists. He too had given indication of his literary bent as an undergraduate, and at commencement in 1771 had joined Freneau in the authorship of a curiously prophetic piece of writing, a poetical dialogue called " The Rising Glory of America." The Revolution stirred several earlier Princetonians to verse. For instance, Benjamin Young Prime of 1751, ancestor of a long line of literary descendants, had already abandoned medicine for letters, and his patriotic songs are said to have been scattered through the colonies, one in particular, a poem on the Stamp Act called " A Song for the Sons of Liberty in New York," being extensively used. Wheeler Case of 1755, a preacher who dabbled in verse, published in 1778 a volume of " Poems " concerned with the cause of liberty, which was republished in 1852. " The American Hero," an ode, written after Bunker Hill by Nathaniel Niles of 1766 and set to music, was sung everywhere in the churches, proving itself, so Professor Tyler would have us believe, a true lyric of fortitude and peace through those troubled years. The legion of sermons uttered by preachers who went out from Nassau Hall may hardly be counted as literature; of most of them the kindliest criticism is to quote the tombstone comment on the preaching of Samuel Clarke (1751)—it was " excellent, laborious and pathetic." But if the literary quality of these sermons is not above the average, the persuasive oratory shown by patriot preachers like Samuel Spring (1771), Israel Evans and Andrew

Hunter of 1772, and James F. Armstrong (1773), to name only some of the younger Revolutionary chaplains, must have been of no mean order, and these men, with a dozen others like them, received their training in public speaking on the rostrum of the College prayer-hall and in the less formal surroundings of the Cliosophic and American Whig societies.

Roughly speaking, Princetonians before Witherspoon's time had followed principally ministerial and teaching careers, while the men who left Princeton in his day entered chiefly educational, legal, and political careers. To the earlier period nevertheless must be credited lawyers of the type of Governor Alexander Martin (1756) of North Carolina, United States Senator and member of the Federal Convention, and the two chief justices of Connecticut, Jesse Root (1756) and Tapping Reeve (1763), although the latter's celebrated law school at Litchfield, the first law school in America, would entitle him to more than mere mention as a teacher. Here also belong William Paterson (1763), future governor of New Jersey and justice of the United States Supreme Court, whose presence in the Federal Convention instantly recalls that of Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth of the class of 1766.

Among the teachers in the early period are John Ewing of 1754, first provost of the University of Pennsylvania after its reorganization, James Manning (1762), and David Howell (1766), a leader of the Rhode Island bar, but inseparably linked with Dr. Manning in the beginnings of Brown University, even as Theodore Romeyn and the younger Jonathan Edwards, both of 1765, were associated with the beginnings of Union College, Samuel Kirkland (1765) with Hamilton College, Joseph Alex-

ander (1760) with the University of North Carolina, and Benjamin Rush (1760) with Dickinson—all of them either founders or first presidents. To the pre-Revolutionary period also belong the surgeons Benjamin Rush (1760), the third of Princeton's signers of the declaration of independence, John Beatty (1769) and David Ramsay (1765) better known as a historian; and with their names, in the medical history of this country and of the Revolutionary War should be mentioned those of William Burnet of 1749, and William Shippen of 1754, founder of the first medical college in America, and John V. B. Tennent of 1758 and James Smith of 1757, founders of the second. In the first class to go out from Nassau Hall (1757) was Joseph Reed's erratic classmate Stephen Sayre, the knight errant who rose from a city clerkship to be an Oxford Street banker and finally to wear the scarlet robe and golden chain of the High Sheriff of London. Here and there one meets a stray soul born out of season like Samuel Greville, one of America's early actors; or comes across a jarring note like the scornful presence of John Randolph of Roanoke. All in all, the laymen of the early period outranked the clerical graduates. There were devoted pastors in plenty, but few theologians.

It has been claimed that eighteenth-century Princetonians to a man fell in with the patriot side during the Revolution, and it is hardly necessary to add that the claim lacks confirmation. The New Jersey Loyalist Volunteers, for instance, were officered in part by Princetonians. David Matthews of 1754, loyalist mayor of New York, ultimately became a refugee to Nova Scotia, where he filled positions of honor and responsibility; and Isaac Allen of 1762, as a refugee to the province of New Brunswick, where he became a judge of

the Supreme Court, may have compared notes with another refugee, Mayor Matthews' classmate the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Odell, jovial rector of St. Mary's at Burlington, New Jersey, wielder of a vitriolic pen, surgeon and chaplain in His Majesty's army, and subsequently secretary of the province where he sought shelter. Most of the Princeton loyalists belonged to the earlier period, although even in Witherspoon's time undergraduates are known to have been ducked under the college pump for their British sentiments. But in general, Princeton adherents to the Crown, graduate or undergraduate, were submerged in the flocks of Nassovians who supported the colonial cause—" fighting parsons " like James Caldwell (1759), whom Bret Harte helped to immortalize, or George Duffield (1752), who was with the army during the retreat across New Jersey in 1776 and was present at the battle of Princeton, and Samuel McClintock (1751), who had been a chaplain in the French and Indian War and was at Bunker Hill, and who sent five sons into the American army, three of them to lose their lives; or lofty-minded heroes like John Macpherson (1766), Montgomery's aide at Quebec, where he fell with his chief and shared the last military honors paid by an admiring garrison to gallant foemen; or soldiers of Witherspoon's molding like his own son James, of 1770, killed at Germantown, or William R. Davie and Jonathan Dayton, of 1776, and the great trio —the " three guardsmen " as it were—from the class of 1773, Aaron Ogden of New Jersey, Morgan Lewis of New York, and " Light Horse Harry " Lee of Virginia.

The closing years of the eighteenth century saw an interesting group of reading men in Nassau Hall centering around John H. Hobart (1793), who was to be the

second of the five[1] early American Protestant Episcopal bishops graduated from Princeton. Among Hobart's friends in College were Henry Kollock (1794), the brilliant divine; Peter Early (1792) and George M. Troup (1797), governors of Georgia; John M. Berrien (1796), attorney general of the United States; John Sergeant (1795) and William Gaston (1796), distinguished legislators; Richard Rush (1797), financier, diplomat, and thrice a cabinet officer; the surgeons John C. Otto (1792) and James Rush (1795), and especially Frederick Beasley (1797), Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and his classmate Charles F. Mercer (1797), soldier and legislator. "It has not been my fortune," wrote President Smith to Hobart long after, "to meet with those who were more amiable; nor have others more estimable in literature or religion fallen in my way." There are letters in the Hobart-Mercer correspondence revealing a passionate love of Princeton not commonly credited to graduates of that era.[2] But Hobart and his studious set were by no means the only types in College at the end of the century. At this time in residence was the conspicuous figure of Washington's ward, George W. P. Custis, who seems to have found life in Nassau Hall particularly vexing. And Wansey, in his "Journal," tells of dining at a Princeton tavern with a collegian whose conversation, he declares, was quite "Oxonian" in flavor—"Bacchus and Venus were his only topic."[3]

So far as records go, the worship paid at Princeton to

[1] Clagget (1764), Hobart (1793), Meade (1808), Johns (1815), McIlvaine (1816).

[2] Archives of the General Convention. Hobart Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 224, *et seq.*

[3] Henry Wansey, "Journal of an excursion to the United States." Salisbury, 1796, p. 104.

the second of this pair of perennial undergraduate divinities was of the most severely formal kind. Compared with Oxford the village of Princeton afforded but slender opportunities to cultivate the fair sex. It was a hopelessly far cry from the doubtful attractions of Paradise Garden at Oxford to the virtuous innocence of Jugtown at Princeton, or from Magdalen Grove and Merton Walks (which had to be closed) to Morgan's quarry and the Battlefield; and these, with the "Little Triangle," offering the romantic possibility of meeting a Princeton belle on the way, seem to have been the favorite haunts of undergraduate pedestrians. To be sure, in 1772, William Paterson tells his chum John Macpherson, "We have a number of pretty girls here now, a new race of beauties, Jack, since you left. . . . Were you here I could give you a description of some of the girls, and a character of some of their lovers, and private anecdotes of both, that would afford you infinite amusement and diversion. The College always has teemed with fools of this sort, there were enough of them in all conscience when we were in it, and mercy on me, the breed has increased surprisingly of late."[1] And scattered through eighteenth-century correspondence we find well-known society names like those of Betsy Randolph, Nancy Lawrence, Rebecca Redman, Laura Lee, and Betsy Stockton, the "Joy of Princeton and the Pride," as Paterson styled her; but most of these ladies were city visitors, who flashed into undergraduate existence for a few brief hours' flirtation at college dances or commencements and then went back to more serious game. The nineteenth century, too, had its village beauties, and an ungallant song has celebrated their skill at defying the passing years. But the literature of Princeton belles,

[1] Mills, "Glimpses," p. 94.

unlike that of their Oxford sisters, who moreover dwelt on a very different social plane, is almost non-existent.

As for Bacchus and his cult, eighteenth-century records do not indicate that drinking prevailed to any extreme, but rather that Mr. Wansey's undergraduate was putting on airs. Occasionally in the 1786 diary occur allusions to the joy of "eating pies & drinking Wine" in Nassau Hall when Gilbert Snowden, the tutor, was off duty; and once the diarist complains of a headache induced by the porter he had cŏnsumed. But the festivities he recorded were usually no more iniquitous than the one that followed an invitation to drink coffee one night in a classmate's room, when "about 9 sat down to 2 good potts of it & a fine Plate of toast & the worst was that there were too many to divide it among, however [we] would have had pretty near 3 dishes a piece if we had had dishes to drink it from—all [in] good humour & all join in singing several good songs both before & after supper, knowing Gilbert was out of College." Compared with this meagre spread, a supper at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1792, was an orgy with its

> "Boiled fowl, salt herrings, sausages,
> Cold beef and brawn and bread and cheese
> With tankards full of ale."[1]

The Princeton diarist may not have belonged to the sporting set; but his daily jottings contain no hint whatsoever of excesses on the part of others, full though they are of allusions to the life of his fellow-students. Later on, the records began to contain more frequent cases of discipline for intoxication, and the legislation of the closing years of President Smith's administration was principally directed against tavern haunting; but even

[1] Christopher Wordsworth, "Social life at the English Universities in the eighteenth century," Cambridge, 1874, p. 130.

then, faculty vigilance rendered exceedingly difficult of achievement and hence comparatively rare, at least in the early days, convivial scenes like those described by Washington Irving and James K. Paulding in 1807 in "Salmagundi," or in 1813 in the "Lay of the Scotch Fiddle." No doubt they occurred, especially at the "Sign of the College," the mellow ancient tavern where Washington had been a guest, and where Rochambeau had put up on his way to Yorktown, the tavern with the

> ". . . welcome door
> That ne'er was shut against the poor,
> Where lord Joline his merry cheer
> Deals out to all from far and near."

And in its tap-room, preserving perhaps the tradition of Colonel Jacob Hyer and Christopher Beekman, two well-known Princeton bonifaces of Revolutionary days,

> "Around the table's verge was spread
> Full many a wine-bewildered head,"

while Mr. Joline himself entertained the company with a frankly unacademic drinking song.

The Princeton portions of the "Lay" are lively reading, but the general prevalent conditions are probably more accurately suggested in a letter of James M. Garnett, written in the spring vacation of 1813. "So many students remain in Princeton that all the boarding houses are full. . . . I can however assert that I have not known of any gaming, drinking, or any kind of dissipation (except idleness) during the whole vacation." Everyone was too much afraid of the stern figure in the president's house.

The wildest hilarity the Buhler diary mentions is going to "Anthony's"[1] in winter and spring for oysters and

[1] Anthony Simmons, a well-known and highly respected colored caterer.

ale, and in summer for ice cream or a "Horace—fine, fat, and greasy," a form of refreshment which has defied identification, but which sounds both academic and sustaining.

In most respects the average eighteenth-century Princetonian was as different a person from the average Oxonian of the period as is imaginable. He was less mature in spite of his epistolary style and his ornate platform utterances, and less interesting though not appreciably younger. At Oxford the relation between tutor and pupil was no longer that of schoolmaster and schoolboy,[1] while at Princeton the very presence of the grammar school tended to accentuate and preserve the scholastic relation. College life at Princeton was consciously arranged on a more youthful plan; it lacked as yet perspective and tradition. The College was vastly smaller; discipline and supervision were personal and paternal. What little liberty the Princetonian enjoyed he stole; his every act was watched and any outcropping of the spirit of wine, women, and song was anathema maranatha.

While there was not so marked a difference between the studies pursued, nevertheless work was approached at Oxford in an incomparably maturer way that had no parallel, so far as we can discover, until the college generation of Hobart. The general private reading done at each place was probably not unequal. The keener students at Princeton found plenty of time to read, and most of them did read. Charles Godfrey Leland (1845) did little else, and fumed at the orthodoxy of Princeton libraries. Careless of his college duties, Buhler devours his Scott and his Shakespeare. In fact he

[1] A. D. Godley, "Oxford in the Eighteenth Century," 1908, p. 111.

finds that a suspension he incurred for non-attendance at chapel brings joyous compensation, for now he has naught to do save sleep, eat, and read. After all, he asks, " What's suspended but set free from daily contact with the things I loathe?—

> " No more I listen, as unto a Knell,
> To the full clanging of the Matin Bell!
> No more doth Ben with cornet's blast arouse
> My angry spirit from its cosy Drowse!
> No more I feel the curst idea sting
> Of dull attendance to each College thing! "

It is an interesting commentary on the time to find that undergraduate loitering in the village bookshop assumed such proportions that the proprietor posted a notice: " Gentlemen will please recollect that Reading Books & not Buying them, will not pay." This eagerness to see new books may be explained in part by the fact that the College library made no pretense to buy any. During the decade 1840-1850, the period of both Buhler and Leland, the library added just 1,313 volumes to its shelves. And in this connection the delight with which, according to all accounts, undergraduates flocked to hear Albert B. Dod on architecture and William Wilberforce Lord on English literature is significant. Each delivered an extra-curriculum course of lectures and in Mr. Lord's case an admission fee was involved. The curriculum was dry and to most men uninspiring, however dutifully they followed it. But here were two lecturers who spoke from the heart; and their discourse, rhetorical and even rhapsodical though it would be considered now, contained glimpses of sunny regions lying beyond the bleak confines of the course of study that stirred young imaginations. It was no wonder then that their words fell on undergraduate ears like rain on a

thirsty land. The only curriculum courses that are spoken of in anything like the same fashion are those of Joseph Henry and Stephen Alexander when these men were in their prime. It was the lack of this sort of stimulus in the curriculum that Leland felt most keenly at Princeton. What the curriculum did not give him he sought in his omnivorous reading, in his relations with Professors Dod, Henry, and James W. Alexander, and in the long night sessions over a study-fire with pipes of Holland tobacco and friends like George H. Boker (1842), when the talk ran deep on art and poetry and old philosophies.[1]

As for undergraduate behavior and manners, Moreau de St. Méry said, in 1794, that, not being brought up in American fashion, he found it difficult to praise the conduct of the College. The American system of bringing up children by placing no restraints upon them could produce only a vicious order of things; and the result he alleges was noticeable at Princeton, where he was told that the students were more occupied with gaming and licentious tendencies than with their studies. His information as to undergraduate occupation was most likely drawn from poisoned sources and therefore not trustworthy, but it would be idle to deny the existence of a rebellious spirit among the students of that day. Ten years later President Smith told William Paterson that Stephen Van Rensselaer (1808) was too young and volatile "to enjoy so much independence as he must necessarily feel in a college where, especially at this age of American liberty, the youngest feels himself on a perfect equality with the oldest."[2] And Dr. Ashbel

[1] C. G. Leland, "Memoirs," New York, 1893, p. 84, *et passim;* E. R. Pennell, "Charles Godfrey Leland," Boston, 1906, Vol. I, p. 60.

[2] Mills, "Glimpses," p. 164.

Green opined that after the American Revolution, and particularly after the French Revolution, the youth of the country became possessed with the idea of liberty to such an extent that they chafed at all restraint.

Stephen Van Rensselaer, Jr., of 1808, the last of the Patroons, belonged probably to the less studious group in College. During Witherspoon's presidency his father had come to Princeton escorted by a private military guard so it is said, to enter the grammar school, where he became valedictorian of his class in 1779, spending at least a year in College and then transferring his allegiance to Yale. The son was young and self-willed, and before he entered college had seen more of New York society than was good for him. We are told that he came to Princeton in his own chaise, and if he did not have a private escort he at least possessed a negro valet, and a wardrobe that was the envy of every other student. To him the austerity of life at Princeton was a needed but resented discipline. And yet by way of contrast in the same class of 1808 was a future bishop of Virginia, William Meade, who to avoid the temptation of gluttony at commons used to wander off the campus so that at the sound of the dinner-horn he might not get back in time to take his seat at table. He was not alone in this mortification of the flesh—although he says he had only "one or two religious associates and but few helps to advancement in the divine life" while at Princeton.

Princeton's gayest scenes of course took place at commencement. Contemporary letters show that it was customary for members of the graduating class to replenish their wardrobes especially for the occasion. The village was always filled with visitors and the campus deliriously

happy. William Richmond Smith, of 1773, sent an account of his graduation to his friend Fithian,[1] in which he says: "never was there such a commencement at Princeton before and most likely never will be again. The galeries were cracking every now and then all day—every mouse-hole in the church was cramm'd full—The stage covered with Gentlemen and ladies amongst whom was the Governor[2] and his lady; and that he might not appear singular Lee[3] was stiff with lace, gold-lace—A band of music from Philadelphia assisted to make all agreeable and to crown the whole the eloquence of Demosthenes was heared in almost every man's mouth, so that the person who spoke last was always the hero of the tale—O murder! what shall I do I want to say a great deal to you but cannot for the girls who are almost distracting my heart——"

At Newark choirs of ladies and gentlemen supplied music at the exercises. Singing by the students either in full chorus or by a selected glee club was a feature of Princeton programmes, and it was but a step from chorus singing to dialogues and dramatic poems set to music, such as "Britain's Military Glory," at commencement in 1762, or the "Ode to Peace" in 1760, or without music in "The Rising Glory of America" in 1771. At a Newark commencement Dr. Ezra Stiles saw "two students act *Tamerlane* and *Bajazet*,"[4] and that plays or dramatic selections were common seems implied in Dr. Manasseh Cutler's reference to the stage in the prayer-hall as being "well formed for plays which are permitted here, and the dialogue speaking principally cultivated." The productions were sometimes quite

[1] "Journal and Letters," p. 42.
[2] William Franklin of New Jersey.
[3] Henry Lee of 1773.
[4] Probably scenes from Marlowe's play.

elaborate. " Our minds have been a little relaxed from the laborious task " (of study), writes Peter Elmendorf, 1782, " by acting of a tragedy called that of Ormisanda and Alonzo;[1] never were people better pleased, than with our performance, our dress was silk and elegant and every circumstance to render it noble was strictly adhered to, it was so affecting that it caused tears to flow from many."

The first commencement had been a formal and dignified occasion, but it was not long before the abuses which Governor Belcher had feared crept in to mar the day. In course of time commencement became a public holiday for the entire countryside. Hucksters were wont to line the street with their wagons and refreshment booths, setting the latter up even on the campus and on the grounds of the church where the exercises were going on. President Maclean speaks of the fiddling and dancing, pitching for pennies, horse-racing, and even a bull-baiting which he witnessed as a boy. Resolutions were frequently directed by the board of trustees against the noise and confusion and the petty thieving that went on in College rooms while everybody was attending the exercises in the church; and the village of Princeton received a charter of incorporation from the State long before it otherwise would have been so honored, partly at least to give the local authorities power to check commencement abuses. The climax of festivities was the ball usually held in one of the taverns. It was here that John Melish,[2] in 1806, decided that the ladies' costumes were " showy but not neat," and took note of the

[1] By John Home, Dr. Witherspoon's college-mate at Edinburgh, whom he criticised for writing " Douglas."

[2] " Travels in the United States of America," Philadelphia, 1812.

prevalent feminine fashion of wearing ear-rings three inches in diameter, known in campus vernacular as "Cupid's chariot wheels." The dance that held his attention was a French cotillion in which partners "sprawled and sprachled," a comment that seems to have a very modern ring. In 1821 an attempt was made to forbid any student to be a manager of or subscriber to a public ball until after commencement, and later a committee was appointed to confer with the senior class to prevent the excesses that prevailed at the close of the commencement ball; but in 1823 commencement was still what Professor James W. Alexander called "our literary Saturnalia," when the village appeared "more like the Amphyctyonic Council of all our American Bedlams, than of the lovers of science and letters," and it was not until the date of commencement was changed from September to June that the occasion was shorn of its most objectionable features. The ball, however, remained a source of disorder; and Mr. Alexander's characterization of commencement would not be inapt to-day.

The Fourth of July had long been a holiday, adequately celebrated. In 1783 the occasion was dignified for the first time by the appointment of an orator from each of the two literary societies, a fact duly advertised in the papers, the day ending with a state dinner given at his headquarters by Mr. Boudinot, president of Congress. The day was always kept in open style by the taverns, and there was usually much burning of gunpowder, much imbibing of punch with hearty patriotic sentiments, and much oratory around the village flagpole, Dr. Witherspoon himself on one occasion delivering the address. Faculty and students ordinarily sat down together to a special dinner, the day beginning with thirteen rounds fired from the revolutionary cannon on

the campus; but, in 1786, the faculty having decreed that the College should dine at the refectory and not at the tavern the steward's " feelings were very much hurt," wrote an undergraduate, " his conscience much strained, and his Purse much impaired by the Punch, ham and green peas which (mirabile dictu) were had on this memorable day." In the morning there were orations by the representatives of the two Halls; in the afternoon Vice-President Smith, who was continually mindful of his pupils' gastronomic weaknesses, entertained several students with a " nicely elegant repast," and at five o'clock there were more orations. Ten years later the occasion was described by George W. P. Custis as beginning with three times sixteen rounds fired from the college cannon, followed by the customary oratorical exhibition; in the evening Nassau Hall was illuminated, remaining so all night, we are told, while a ball took place at the tavern.

The illumination of Nassau Hall on the night of the Fourth continued until 1841, the date of the last and most pretentious celebration. On this occasion two days were spent making the frames to hold the candles set in all the windows of East, West, and Nassau Hall facing the back campus. In one building the first-floor windows contained hour-glasses requiring sixty candles each, another floor represented Washington, another General Mercer, while the windows of the prayer-hall bore the dates " 1776-1841." Designs even more intricate and artistic filled the rear windows of Nassau Hall. The roar of artillery was kept up all day, and the cannon was hot with constant service. A special dinner was served in the refectory, and as soon as darkness fell, the college bell was tapped and every window was instantly lit up, the wicks of the five thousand candles having been previ-

ously soaked with turpentine. When these had burned low the bell tolled again and each window went dark. Then fireworks, brought from New York, were exhibited to the admiring throng of spectators. Rain prevented the crowning undergraduate delight in the occasion, the fireball throwing, in which large balls of cotton-waste soaked in turpentine and burning were tossed around the campus like so many flaming meteors. The students forthwith adjourned with their fireballs to the long entries of Nassau Hall, but the faculty bought them off with the promise of an outdoor opportunity the next evening, and according to schedule the finale of the celebration was carried out the following night with dancing and a bonfire around the cannon, and singing "Ha! Jib along! jib along, Josie!" in which charming ditty the tenor voice of George H. Boker of 1842, the future poet and United States Minister to Russia, is said to have sounded high above the rest. When curfew rang at nine the faculty had to come out to enforce the summons, and the last College celebration of the Fourth of July ended with about fifty recalcitrant young patriots racing around the village, the vice-president and tutors at their heels. As the inevitable sequel a number were suspended.

With the passing of the Fourth of July, Washington's Birthday became the college day of celebration. When class distinctions grew bitter the culmination occurred on this holiday. The oratorical exercises were limited to a speaker from each class, a humorous address being the senior prerogative. At first presided over by the president of the College, the proceedings finally became too riotous for his presence, and the president of the senior class took his place. The violent scenes in the Old Chapel during the eighties and nineties will never be

forgotten, and happily can never be repeated. The bombardment of the rival freshman and sophomore galleries with flourbags and over-ripe fruit and eggs, regardless of the defenseless audience in the line of fire, marked the limit of license, and steps were taken to return to more fitting manners. Such customs went out with the pitiable freshman and sophomore " proclamations " that used to adorn every barn in the vicinity of Princeton, and traveled far and wide pasted on freight trains at the Junction. The scurrilous " rakes " of the mid-nineteenth century, scattered surreptitiously at the Junior Orator contest the evening before commencement, were their immodest parents.

The class of 1858 invented the " horn spree," a form of college disorder at Princeton which gave the authorities needless trouble. Arming themselves with tin horns these seekers after new mischief one dark night hid themselves about the campus and blew their horns until exhausted, or until detected by some member of the distracted faculty, for whose annoyance the whole thing had been arranged. So easily did this simple amusement effect its purpose that it became an annual affair. The modern " poler's recess " at curfew during examination week may be an echo of this harmless device for letting off superfluous energy. Horn sprees have gone the way of " Sophomore Commencements,"[1] a much older institution dating from the early forties, and celebrating graduation from the sophomore class in days when everyone's hand was against the sophomore—freshman classes being so small as to be negligible; and with horn sprees and sophomore commencements, senior burlesque programmes, rakes and " procs," and " paper wars," eventually will go freshman " horsing," the last

[1] Cf. Edward Wall, " Reminiscences," p. 26, for a description.

and most tenacious of the group of undesirable " old customs."

" Horsing " can at least claim respectable antiquity. The law of 1760 that " Any Freshman sent on an Errand shall go and do it faithfully and make quick return " has been quoted, and we have seen that according to the official " Account " of 1764 the students of that day gave and received " tokens of respect and subjection," the object of college discipline being to " habituate them to subjection and yet maintain their respective ranks without insolence or servility." In 1767 the freshman rule, or " freshmanship," as it was called, was abrogated much to the disgust of an embryo justice of the United States Supreme Court, Mr. William Paterson, who foresaw the direst results of this first abolition of hazing at Princeton. But life in Nassau Hall was too concentrated to allow the reign of perfect peace, and in 1802 a further rule had to be passed forbidding any student " to disturb or attempt any imposition on his fellow student in any manner whatsoever." Quarrels and personal encounters seem to have been checked somewhat by this rule, for the records show no further instances of the faculty stepping in to adjust misunderstandings among the students and compelling the parties concerned either to sign a settlement in the faculty minute-book, or to leave College, as had hitherto been fairly common.

Academic costume enters into the history of the College as early as 1751, and in the next year two gowns were procured by the authorities, one for the president's use and the other as a pattern for the students, who were at liberty to wear gowns or not as they pleased. In 1755 wearing gowns became obligatory, but the law was repealed in 1758. When Dr. Witherspoon arrived he im-

mediately put into effect a stringent rule requiring academic costume at prayers, at church, at all College exercises, and on every appearance outside of Nassau Hall, except in the " Back Yard " of the College, under penalty of five shillings' fine. The rule fell into disuse during the Revolution, but in 1786 was once more enforced, and with various modifications remained on the books until the middle of the nineteenth century. Until 1846 each student was required to own a gown and to wear it on such occasions as the law prescribed, or the trustees or faculty ordered. In 1851 the rule was modified to require a student to be gowned only when appearing on the public stage, and by 1870 all mention of college habit had disappeared from the Laws. In December, 1868, the junior, sophomore, and freshman classes petitioned the faculty to make academic costume at college exercises compulsory, but a counter-petition being presented, the original was laid on the table, and the wearing of academic costume by the speakers at oratorical contests and by the senior class at commencement is the only remnant of what was formerly the general rule.

In the eighteenth century dressing was an art whose process was long if one expected to appear on the chapel rostrum, or in Hall, or at a college examination. In preparation for such occasions one needed the ministrations of the barber; for although there are no allusions in Princeton annals to the wearing of bob-wigs such as were in use at Oxford and Harvard in the eighteenth century, nor was the manner of wearing one's own hair prescribed as was later done in the Oxford statutes, nevertheless the contemporary mode of wearing the hair in a queue and of curling ear-locks with irons rendered a hairdresser's help advisable. " Near five o'clock,"

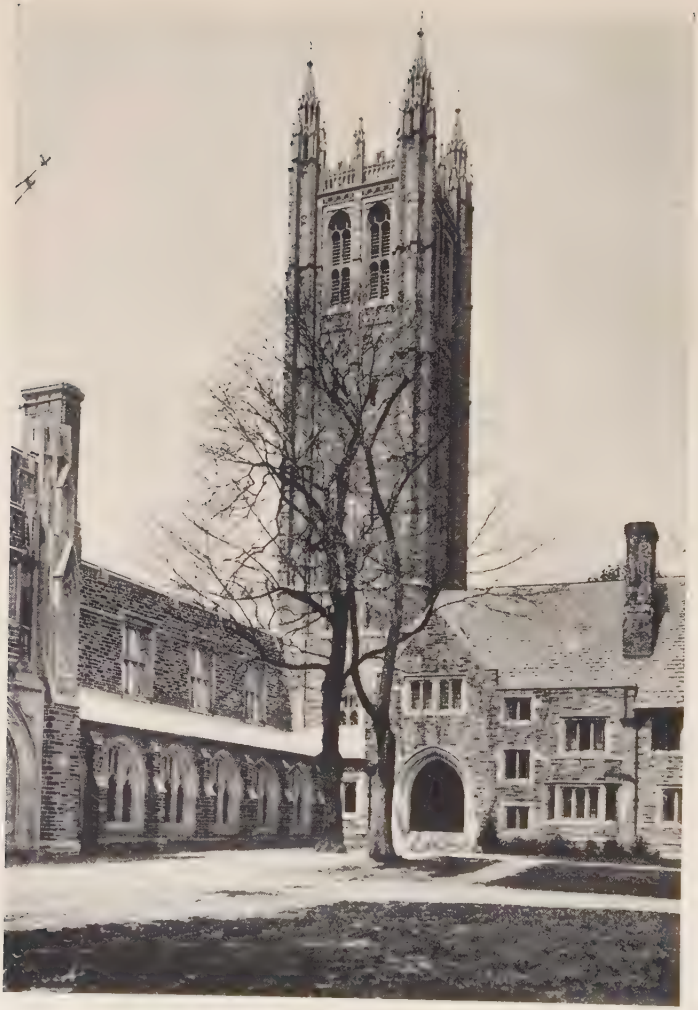
writes the diarist of 1786 one afternoon when he was to speak in Hall after supper, " waiting for Barlow to dress me, and at last obliged to run out of College to his house." Another day he says, " Am taking all the afternoon in dressing &c, & studying none too well." And again and worse still: " This being Society day, am taking up all the Afternoon in dressing &c. & study none at all." He may have been one of the sort on whom William Paterson turned a dubious rhyme in his " Belle of Princeton "—

> " I've grown confounded jealous
> Of these dressy college fellows "—

who were cutting wide swaths in Princeton society, to the disgust of their less lucky classmates; but it is more probable that in the instances quoted he was merely following common practice in dressing. A reminder of the custom is found in the 1802 law that " no student shall employ any barber or hair dresser to shave or dress him on the Sabbath, nor shall any such person go into College on that day, for any purpose." Sunday observance had grown stricter with the years, and whereas a student had formerly been forbidden to go more than two miles from College at any time, now on Sunday he might not leave the bounds of the campus proper. The day was not altogether one of rest, and hardly one of gladness. " My sabbaths," wrote James M. Garnett, one June Sunday in 1813, " are so much employed in studying our recitations, viz 5 chapters in the Bible and 10 pages in Paley's Nat: Theol.—that I have not been able to read the theological works which my Father recommended to me." And in a postscript he adds: " I forgot to tell you that Dr. Green refused permission to two young men to ride out a few days ago, because they had violated the Sabbath. When they in-

quired what they had done, it turned out that they had thrown a stone at a tree in the campus on Sunday."

The laws of 1760 had declared that students " shall not appear out of their rooms dress'd in an indecent slovenly manner, but must be neat & compleat," and in 1802 a further law recommended them " to be plain in their dress, but it is required of them always to appear neat and cleanly," college officers being ordered to admonish the negligent " and see that they preserve a decent appearance." But there never existed at Princeton any prescribed college uniform as was the case, for example, at Cambridge University or at Harvard until well into the nineteenth century. The curious habit of appearing abroad in dressing-gowns, or " night gowns," as they were called at Harvard before that use of the word became obsolete, prevailed during the eighteenth century and is mentioned as late as September, 1859, in the *Nassau Literary Magazine* as a campus fashion. The earliest allusion that has been found occurs in a letter of Peter Elmendorf in July, 1781, in which he announces his intention to buy broad-cloth for a winter dressing-gown, " it is very necessary here as all the students in general wear them." These garments were usually fashioned of brilliantly flowered cotton calico, trimmed with extravagant fringe for summer wear, and heavily padded in winter, unless the owner possessed a special winter gown. They were worn everywhere—to prayers, to recitation, and about College, and later even in the street. The style in 1840 demanded that they extend halfway between knee and ankle, cut like overcoats with plain rolling collars and padded skirts, two pockets, a hook and eye at the neck, a girdle, and no buttons. While they were made at that time of large-patterned



HOLDER HALL AND TOWER

calico, yet striped or red figures were not fashionable, "although oddity in any other respect may be tolerated." The lining was of different pattern, and the student whose description of the garment has been used here completes his directions to his father by adding that he has been thus minute so that his parents "may from it form some idea of the appearance of our gentry in college life." The scene at "Lazy Corner"—the railings at the west entrance to the campus, whose use by "our gentry" corresponded to that of the old Yale Fence or the present benches on Nassau Street—was kaleidoscopic. In the thirties and forties, undergraduates wore high boots with trousers tucked in, and for a college generation or so boot-tops were of different colors to denote the classes. Slouching full-topped caps were the fashion, and in winter, dressing-gowns outdoors gave way to long Spanish cloaks, full and circular, slung from the left shoulder and capable at day-break prayers of hiding as great a multitude of sartorial omissions as the mackintosh and rubber boots of half a century later, or the "slicker" of to-day. Vice-President Maclean himself wore a famous and voluminous camlet cloak, and the vision of him pursuing some youth across the campus, with this garment streaming back from his neck, held only by its great brass clasps and rings,—for in his early days he was a famous sprinter,—is as common a recollection as that of his lantern and nocturnal gum shoes.

Early class photographs reveal a number of curious tailoring specimens. Peg-top trousers with gaiters so tightly cut that it was customary to pull the high boots on first came into fashion with flowing neck-scarfs and waistcoats of brilliant colors and huge designs fit only for daguerreotypes, frock coats of bottle-green or snuff-brown, tight of sleeve and finished with velvet collars,

hair down to the shoulder, and a goatee if possible, since Dr. Maclean looked with disfavor on mustaches.

Charles Godfrey Leland introduced long German pipes and strong smoking tobacco which entirely superseded the " church wardens " and box of " shorts," or cigar cuttings, up to his day the inevitable ornament of every hearth in Nassau Hall and around which had grown an extensive traditional etiquette. Tobacco was used very generally. Professor Dod is said to have been an inveterate smoker, and indeed not above chewing during recitations.

A college color does not seem to have been thought of at Princeton until 1866, when a committee was appointed to put through a project for adopting orange in honor of the Prince of Orange, after whom Nassau Hall was named. Nothing came of the effort until 1868, when the class of 1869 played Yale '69 at baseball—the first Yale-Princeton game,—and the Princeton team wore badges of orange ribbon with " '69 B. B. C." stamped on them. That September the inauguration of Dr. McCosh being at hand, and the class of '69 having appropriated orange ribbon with " Princeton " in black letters, it was thought proper to adopt the badge for a college color. The faculty was petitioned and on October 12, 1868, two weeks before the inauguration, it was officially resolved by the faculty to permit the students " to adopt and wear as the College Badge an orange colored Ribbon, bearing upon it the word ' Princeton.' " The color does not seem to have become genuinely popular until the freshman boatrace at Saratoga in July, 1874, although it is spoken of in 1870 as growing in popularity and general use.

The origin of the Princeton sky-rocket cheer is somewhat older, dating from the spring of 1860. Up to that

time when town and gown encounters, or " snob fights " as they were called, took place, the rallying cry for the gownsmen was " Nassau! Nassau! " which always brought out reinforcements. The cry was never used except in case of dire necessity and was in no sense a college cheer. The first appearance of the sky-rocket cheer in print was as the signature of an essay in the *Nassau Literary Magazine* for April, 1860, by Montgomery Hooper of the class of 1860. This use of the words seems to indicate that the cheer by that time was not unfamiliar to the campus.

The earliest official recognition of anything like athletics was in the shape of a prohibition passed by the board of trustees in May, 1761, in these terms: " The Trustees having on their own View been sensible of the Damages done to the President's House by the Students playing at Ball against it, do hereby strictly forbid all & any of the Sd Students, the Officers & all other Persons belonging to the College playing at Ball against the sd President's House under the Penalty of Five Shillings for every offence to be levied on each Person who shall offend in the Premises." The diary of 1786 contains several valuable allusions to College sports—hockey on Stony Brook in winter, shinny, quoits, " baste ball," and " prison baste " on the campus in the spring and summer. It is not clear whether " prison baste " and " baste ball " were identical or not—they probably were not; but at any rate the chronicler was no expert performer, for on March 22 occurs the confession: " A fine day, play baste ball in the campus but am beaten for I miss both catching and striking the ball." He was more successful at the favorite indoor sport of " shuttle " or " battle doors " playing either in an entry or else in the prayer-hall. The earliest Princeton record in jump-

ing is found in the same diary, Richard Mosby (1786) being the college champion, for he " excels and goes 11 feet at a hop for 36 hops together "—a record created on March 14, 1786, and not yet broken.

In the following year the faculty issued another prohibition: " It appearing that a play at present much practised by the smaller boys among the students and by the grammar Scholars with balls and sticks in the back common of the College is in itself low and unbecoming gentlemen Students, and in as much as it is an exercise attended with great danger to the health by sudden and alternate heats and colds and as it tends by accidents almost unavoidable in that play to disfiguring and maiming those who are engaged in it for whose health and safety as well as improvement in Study as far as depends on our exertion we are accountable to their Parents & liable to be severely blamed for them: and in as much as there are many amusements both more honourable and more useful in which they are indulged Therefore the faculty think it incumbent on them to prohibit both the Students & grammar Scholars from using the play aforesaid."

If the game here prohibited was shinny, the prohibition soon became a dead letter; for shinny is mentioned a few years later by G. W. P. Custis and remained the favorite campus sport for over half a century, or until the arrival of football in the forties and baseball in the end of the fifties.

Under President Green's stern administration it must have been difficult to get exercise when the weather was bad. James Garnett writes to his mother in February, 1813: " It has not ceased to snow almost every day for a month & if it continues much longer I shall be forced to run away; for I can not live without exercise, & Dr.

Green has forbidden any noise or romping in the college. I was in hopes that we should have had sufficient exercise in dancing & fencing, but I find with regard to that, that the students here have no more public spirit than you suppose they have at William and Mary." A month later, however, the lethargy he complains of has been shaken off, and in March he writes again: "With respect to our amusements we have had a great many since the good weather commenced: in the vacant hours we exercise ourselves by running, jumping, throwing quoits and pitching. We have not yet got a dancing master, but we very often have dances in each other's rooms, & we expect certainly to get a master by the end of the vacation." These were indeed days of homely pastimes!

In 1860 ball playing and other games were prohibited on the front campus and as far back as the path then immediately behind the library building (now the University Offices), a rule which so far as the front campus is concerned has become an unwritten law. During study hours playing anywhere on the campus was forbidden.

A private gymnasium for members of the class of 1839 existed in 1837 in an old building off the campus, where exercise was taken secretly, the attitude of the faculty being an unknown quantity. Behind West College in 1849 a handball court was put up, and ten years later, through the personal effort of two members of the class of 1859, A. A. Lyon and W. E. Wright, the sum of $800 was collected and the first general gymnasium at Princeton was erected, a simple wooden building some thirty by seventy feet in size. A tramp smitten with smallpox was found in the gymnasium one morning in 1865 and the building was burned to the ground, and nothing replaced it until Dr. McCosh erected the Bonner-

Marquand Gymnasium. The authorities did not ignore the value of exercise, as is easily shown from the references to efforts made from time to time to purchase "exercise grounds," but these efforts for many years met with no results because of lack of available funds.

Football is mentioned in the early forties, when subscriptions would be taken up for a leather cover, a beef bladder would be inserted and blown up, the cover laced, and the College would divide into two sides—usually East College versus West, or Clio versus Whig. East and West College were the goals and the side which kicked to the wall won, the only rule being that the ball could not be touched with the hands, but had to be kicked. Later in the forties the portion of the campus now occupied by Edwards and Little Halls and the Gymnasium was used on half-holidays for cricket and townball. The digging of the canal a few years before this afforded opportunity for swimming matches, with the added excitement of occasional fights with boatmen and railroad men, the original line of the railroad following the canal. Charles Godfrey Leland describes a fight at the Aqueduct between students and railroad men which was turned in favor of the collegians only by the opportune arrival of academic re-enforcements headed by President Carnahan and the faculty, whereupon the "Jerseymen" fled in utter rout.

Baseball made its first appearance at Princeton in the autumn of 1857, a baseball club being formed in the freshman class of '61. In March, 1859, a club was formed in the class of '62 and the next year was reorganized as a college affair under the name of the "Nassau Baseball Club." The first game between Princeton and an outside team was played on Princeton's birthday

anniversary, October 22, 1860, at Orange, N. J. The game was called at the end of the ninth inning on account of darkness, each side having scored forty-two runs. Football, though frequently played on the campus, was not played with an outside team until November, 1869, when Princeton played Rutgers.

A campus which can look back upon Revolutionary experiences like those of Nassau Hall could hardly be unmindful of the passing comedy of national politics in later times; and Princeton academic history is not altogether wanting in illustrations of this interest. What became of the gigantic hickory pole which was erected in the village during the Jackson campaign of 1828 and acted as the rallying point for much unbridled oratory, is not known; but various sources have preserved the story of the Harrison campaign of 1840 as Princeton saw it. President Harrison visited the College and addressed the students, and the village had its log cabin and presumably also its hard cider. When the campaign was over a wooden ball some twelve feet in diameter, with an axle and an iron-bound rim, which had been rolled from Maine to Georgia, covered with campaign posters and mottoes, was rescued from threatened oblivion at Trenton and was brought to Princeton by the students to end its career gloriously in a campus bonfire. President Tyler's visit in 1843 was the occasion of strong feeling. His speech to the students was greeted with mingled applause and hisses and three cheers were given for Professor Dod, who had also spoken, but none for Tyler until his escort rose to the occasion, all of which was forgotten at the hilarious supper served later in the day at "Morven," the Stockton homestead. A pleasing incident occurred the next morning as Tyler was driving

away. When his carriage and four passed the house where Dr. Ashbel Green happened to be visiting, the venerable ex-president appeared at the door to watch the cavalcade go by. President Tyler stopped his carriage, alighted, took off his hat and bowed to the old man, and then reseating himself drove on—the only memorable feature, says Dr. James W. Alexander, of the whole melodrama.

The campaign of 1856 which witnessed the birth of the Republican party was terminated as far as the campus was concerned in an occasion of much elaborateness. A torchlight procession was organized, with transparencies and a coffin as features. At the front gate of the campus an effigy of the Republican candidate was tenderly placed in the coffin and a torch applied, while a funeral sermon was delivered over the remains from the rather too pointed last clause of John xi. 39. The next day, of course, the faculty suspended the orator. More serious consequences than this followed an impromptu torchlight procession in the spring of 1898 in which an effigy and a bonfire figured, when for a few days an occasion of entirely innocent intention assumed almost international importance owing to sensational accounts which reached the attention of the Spanish authorities.

No account of life in the College of New Jersey could pretend to be complete without some reference to the place there occupied by religious experience. Even during the most careless moods of her undergraduate history there has ever been at Princeton some trace of the quieting touch of religion, awaiting only a more convenient season for expansion. Revivals, or at least periods of especial interest in things religious, are fre-

quent in the first fifty years of that history, and are not absent in the next century.[1] College exercises were sometimes suspended so that the work of grace might not be interrupted. "We have had a considerable stir of religion in college since you went away," wrote Andrew Hunter to Philip Fithian in March, 1772, "Lewis Willson is thought to have got religion; and the formerly abandoned Glover is seeking the way to heaven. Our orations are put off lest they should do some harm to some under concern."[2]

The formal devotional exercises of the College, in the shape of obligatory chapel, have rarely if ever had aught to do with the true religious life of the campus. The first academic exercise held in Nassau Hall was a religious service, and during the next one hundred and twenty-five years attendance at both morning and evening prayers was compulsory, making required chapel an older tradition by a few hours than the nine o'clock curfew itself. In 1882, on petition of the faculty, required weekday afternoon chapel was abolished much to the fear and doubt of certain older trustees of the stricter sort; and in 1901 Sunday afternoon required chapel was also given up. The present twice a week required morning chapel rule has been in operation since October, 1905. Afternoon weekday chapel seems to have made no special impression on those who attended it, and therefore gave rise to no complaint, but one searches practically in vain through diaries and memoirs and reminiscences to find any hint that morning prayer

[1] There are records of such occasions in 1757, 1762, 1763, 1770, 1772, 1814, 1815, 1831, 1840, 1850, and later.

[2] Fithian, "Journal and Letters," p. 22. Glover was expelled the next winter for stealing turkeys. Wilson entered the ministry but subsequently studied medicine and became a surgeon in the Revolution.

at five, five-thirty, six, or even six-thirty was ever attended with profit or remembered with anything but disfavor. On the contrary, the record of the faculty's disciplinary measures shows that morning chapel was a constant cause of undergraduate revolt.

The "Rebellion of 1800" is an illustration. "The mornings being very cold this winter," writes Elias Ellmaker of 1801, "& the tutors praying very long in the morning, some of the students fell into a practice of scraping & disturbing them during their performance." Two of the men suspended for this disorderly conduct were Virginians, "& the greater part of the students being from that settlement," it was determined to resent the faculty's action, and forthwith "Bullets, brick Bats, &c, barrels of stones & other combustibles rung through the College for two or three days." After a lull, one of the suspended students undertook to "beat some of the tutors," and succeeding in his purpose, for the next three days "the College reechoed with stones." Order was restored only when President Smith called the College together in the prayer-hall late one night and threatened to close the institution until the board of trustees should meet and take action.[1]

The sweet coolness of the early hour in spring and summer, even when George Whitefield was preaching to the College at 5 A.M. as happened in 1763, could never offset the impression made in winter by the unlighted unheated corridors of Nassau Hall through which the wind drew keenly as the student, half asleep, stumbled

[1] The advice needed by the tutors was plainly that given by Dr. McCosh many years later to the absent-minded professor conducting chapel one morning when Mr. Matthew Arnold was a visitor. Striding up to his colleague, the president announced with unmistakable emphasis: "We have Mr. Arnold with us. Ye'll pick a lively hymn—and *pray short!*"

to his seat to answer roll-call. As for the performance that ensued, men remembered only its utter cheerlessness, the dim light of the lamp on the pulpit where a tutor droned, the biting chill of the prayer-hall—and breakfast still an hour or two away. As discipline it was no doubt excellent; as an act of worship it was worse than a failure.

Although the infidelity that was fashionable at the close of the eighteenth century is said to have made less impression at Princeton than elsewhere, contemporary sources show that it was desperately feared by the authorities. This fear, especially of infidelity of the French brand, is oddly reflected in a resolution of the faculty in November, 1812, that until the trustees should order otherwise anyone "admitted as a teacher of the French language shall produce unexceptional testimonials in writing," first, of his ability to teach French; second, of his good moral character and habits; and, third, that he was not "hostile to revealed truth." No similar test was ever so demanded of other members of the faculty.

Ashbel Green asserts that in his senior year he was the only professing Christian in College, and the autobiography of John Johnson (1801) indicates that the state of religion in his day was not much better, only three or four students, he declares, making any pretense to piety. But even then, if a brilliant preacher like Henry Kollock occupied the pulpit in the First Church on Sunday afternoons, we are told that the majority of the undergraduates attended voluntarily, and this in spite of the fact that they had already been to a required morning service and would have to report later at vespers. Religious conditions do not seem to have improved appreciably in the next decade, for out of one hundred and forty-five students, Daniel Baker, of 1815, the future

missionary and educator, says that only six, so far as he knew, were professors of religion. The national day of prayer proclaimed by President Madison in January, 1815, was a turning point, leading to a great revival.

On the other hand, the biographies of Daniel Baker (1815), William Jessup Armstrong (1816), Charles Pettit McIlvaine (1816), afterwards bishop of Ohio; Stephen Collins (1818), Robert Baird, tutor at Princeton, James B. Taylor (1826), and the "Familiar Letters" of James W. Alexander (1820), to name only a few of the sources, show that there was a serious religious life in College throughout the first half of the century, culminating in 1850 in an old-fashioned revival which so affected the student body that it accomplished what the authorities for generations had been trying to bring about, viz.: the abandonment of the commencement ball, an abandonment which candor, however, compels one to admit was only temporary.

Religious societies were early established, being mentioned in 1770 by Fithian. One of these societies, not ephemeral in its nature, should be particularly noticed. On Christmas Eve in 1824 an association was formed "to promote the circulation of correct opinions upon Religion, Morals, Education &c, excluding Sectarian Theology and party Politics." It was the duty of each member to publish at least once a month in any convenient way some article designed to answer the above object. The society had a constitution and the Greek motto: *Χριστοῦ φίλοι*, which gave it the name "Chi Phi." When at length it disbanded, its religious feature was absorbed and perpetuated by what is known now as the "Philadelphian Society," organized in February, 1825, and said to be an offspring of the Nassau Hall Tract Society. The old Chi Phi constitution was

discovered in 1854 by some undergraduates, who, emphasizing the social and disregarding the religious purpose, reorganized the society into the modern Greek letter fraternity of the same initials but different motto. The majority of the religious societies founded in Princeton were less general in their scope but more efficient in their work than the old Chi Phi. The Theological Society, for theological students chiefly, was one of the oldest and the most academic. The Nassau Hall Bible Society, founded in February, 1813, supplied a copy of the Bible to every destitute family in the State, and took part in organizing the American Bible Society. The Princeton Sabbath School Society, founded two years later, organized Sunday schools throughout the neighborhood of Princeton, a new idea brought from Philadelphia by John S. Newbold (1816). The Nassau Hall Tract Society was organized in January, 1817, by students of the College and Seminary, to publish and scatter tracts; while the Nassau Hall Education Society was organized in 1821 to help deserving students, regardless of their proposed future. One or two of the religious movements started in Princeton have become world wide, such as the African Colonization Movement, the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A., and the Student Volunteer Movement, while the Nassau Hall Bible Society and the Nassau Hall Tract Society were in the very forefront of the two great movements they represent.

Although the list of alumni during the first half of the nineteenth century does not show proportionally as many interesting and prominent characters as that of the eighteenth, nevertheless it is not without its share of distinguished names. During the presidencies between Witherspoon and McCosh were graduated a vice president of the United States, a secretary of state, a secre-

tary of the treasury, two attorneys general, two secretaries of the navy, three secretaries of war, an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, ten chief justices of state supreme courts, thirteen judges of United States district courts, and over fifty judges of state supreme courts, twelve foreign ministers, thirty United States senators and twice as many congressmen, fifteen governors of states, twenty-five presidents of colleges and about ninety professors in colleges, professional schools, and seminaries. Vice-President George M. Dallas (1810), and five of the eight cabinet officers in this list were graduated under President Smith, one of them—John Forsyth (1799)—having a career as brilliant as it was varied, being in turn congressman, United States senator, governor, foreign minister, and secretary of state, occupying the last position seven years. Later cabinet officers were George M. Robeson (1847), secretary of the navy, and William W. Belknap (1848) and James Donald Cameron (1852), secretaries of war. Among the foreign ministers were three to the Court of St. James, Richard Rush (1797), Joseph R. Ingersoll (1804), and George M. Dallas (1810). Among the governors were G. M. Troup (1797) and Alfred H. Colquitt (1844) of Georgia, James Iredell (1806) of North Carolina, Samuel S. Southard (1804) and Joel Parker (1839) of New Jersey, and James Pollock (1831) of Pennsylvania. The chief justices include Charles Ewing (1798) and Henry W. Green (1820) of New Jersey, Stevenson Archer (1805) of Maryland, and his classmate Thomas Ruffin of North Carolina. Education is represented by presidents or provosts from Frederic Beasley (1797) of the University of Pennsylvania, James Carnahan (1800) and John Maclean (1816) of Princeton, Bishop William Meade (1808) of the Theological

Seminary, Virginia, to James C. Welling (1844) of Columbian (now George Washington) University. Over forty colleges and professional schools had Princetonians of this period on their faculties. The church is represented by the bishops William Meade (1808), John Johns (1815), Charles P. McIlvaine (1816), by the Alexanders and by the Hodges, Charles (1815), Archibald A. (1841), and Caspar W. (1848) of Princeton Seminary; science by Richard S. M'Culloh (1836), and Ogden N. Rood (1852) of Columbia; letters by Parke Godwin (1834), Charles Godfrey Leland (1845), George H. Boker (1842), and Basil L. Gildersleeve (1849). In the earlier part of the century the army found a most distinguished representative in Major-General Persifer F. Smith of 1815, but in later years the most distinguished Princetonians in the army and navy seem to have belonged to the medical department, as, for example, in the navy, Lewis B. Hunter (1824), Jonathan D. Miller (1829), and Edward Shippen (1845), and in the army Josiah Simpson (1833), Lewis A. Edwards (1842), and George A. Otis (1849), the latter being author of a surgical history of the Civil War which at once became standard. Belonging to the succeeding college decade is another distinguished officer in the medical department of the army, Alfred A. Woodhull (1856), authority on military hygiene. During the Civil War, perhaps the most conspicuous Princetonian in the field was the Confederate brigadier-general, Bradley T. Johnson (1849), although there were several men of lower rank on both sides who were just as eager and equally active, and whose stories are yet to be written in a history of Princeton in the Civil War. And having referred to warriors and warfare, it is fitting, by way of contrast, and to close this cursory listing of a few prominent graduates

of a period when the College was small and restricted, to name a Princeton peacemaker, George Gray (1859), for many years United States senator from Delaware, member of the Joint High Commission at Quebec in 1898, of the Peace Commission at Paris in 1898, and of the Permanent Court of International Arbitration since 1900, chairman of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission of 1902, and a member of the Fisheries Arbitration Tribunal of 1910.

VI

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

Inauguration of President McCosh. The Response. New Buildings. Introduction of the Elective System. Beginnings of the University Spirit. Organization of Graduate Instruction. Higher Degrees. Fellows. Science. Faculty Growth. The Bachelor of Architecture. The Bachelor of Divinity. Discipline. The Fraternities. Extra-Curriculum Activities. McCosh and the University.

THREE documentary sources tell the story of President McCosh's administration. His inaugural contains his plans; the twenty annual catalogues issued during his presidency form a continuous record of his achievement; and his valedictory in 1888 is a summary of his administration.[1] Aside from the material reconstruction that he effected,—the buildings and equipment he secured, the course of study he developed, and the faculty he gathered about him, all of which is recorded in the catalogues of his day and briefly touched upon in his valedictory,—his greatest work for the College was the intellectual awakening he brought about through his personal influence on the students who during twenty years came in daily contact with him in his study, in his classroom, or on the campus of what he was wont to call "my college." Dr. McCosh was a great teacher, the last of the teaching presidents in the larger colleges, and in his

[1] Dr. McCosh's account of his administration is most conveniently found in the later chapters of Professor William M. Sloane's "Life of James McCosh—a record chiefly autobiographical" (New York, 1896), to which the reader is directed for an illuminating survey of the president's career and a discriminating estimate of his character, personality, and works.

teaching,—its clarity, its enthusiasm, its elemental common sense, and especially in its permanence,—lay his chief power. Whether or not it shall be said of him hereafter, as he wished it might, that he aided in founding an American philosophy is a question not within the province of these pages to consider further than to note the present tendency to count him rather as an educator and administrator than as a constructive philosopher. He gave the whole force of his approval to the philosophical position Princeton had occupied since Witherspoon's day, but at the same time he lifted philosophical studies at Princeton out of the formalism into which they had fallen and made them inspiring and vividly real.

Dr. Witherspoon on his arrival at Princeton had ousted Berkleyan idealism and implanted Scottish realism. Dr. McCosh, likewise, immediately found himself forced into controversy, but the cause he defended was not the conservative one. He reached America in the heat of the Darwinian discussion, and in the preface to his Bedell Lectures for 1887 on "The Religious Aspect of Evolution" he has told how, in 1868, he pondered on shipboard whether he should openly and at once avow his receptive attitude toward Darwinism or should keep his convictions to himself because of the prejudice of religious men in America. Naturally Dr. McCosh decided that avowal was the honest course and he says that he had not been a week in Princeton before he let his upperclassmen know that he looked with favor on the theory of evolution properly limited and explained. The Princeton attitude of conservatism toward the new theories was represented by the contemporary writings of Dr. Charles Hodge (1815) of the Princeton Theological Seminary and Dr. John T. Duffield (1841), professor of mathematics in the College. Against the

position which they maintained Dr. McCosh at once took his stand. He apprehended that the undiscriminating denunciation of evolution in pulpits, periodicals, and seminaries might drive some thoughtful young men to infidelity as they clearly saw development everywhere in nature and were at the same time told by their advisers that they could not believe in evolution and yet be Christians. His orthodoxy was impugned and his teaching ridiculed but he clung to his position that, being a scientific and not a theological question, evolution should not be made a test of religious belief, and that in any case it was not necessarily opposed to theological conclusions. And he was gratified later to find that he was thanked by his pupils because, in showing them evolution in nature, he had showed that this was not inconsistent with religion.[1] President Andrew D. White has summed up Dr. McCosh's influence in the matter: "With him began the inevitable compromise, and in spite of mutterings against him as a Darwinian he carried the day. Whatever may be thought of his general system of philosophy, no one can deny his great service in neutralizing the teachings of his predecessors and colleagues."[2]

He came to Princeton, as he himself frankly admitted, at a propitious time. The College was waiting to be shaken into new life. Fortune favored him with physical gifts that paralleled his intellectual powers—splendid physique, noble countenance, and a voice whose tones when he was roused matched an unforgettable presence. These all helped to make well-nigh impossible any failure in the task of saving Princeton from remaining a small and average American college with a respectable an-

[1] Bedell Lectures, 1887, p. xi.

[2] "History of the Warfare of Science with Theology," New York, 1905, Vol. I, p. 80.

cestry. Measured by what he did for her materially and intellectually no other president has been so great, not even Witherspoon, who was far more of a national character and whose life-work was richer and more various, but whose academic plans were checked by ill fortune. The curious parallelisms first pointed out by Dean West between the lives of McCosh and Witherspoon have been frequently quoted; each a Lowland Scotsman by birth; each educated at the University of Edinburgh, becoming a minister of the Church of Scotland at a crisis in its history and an important figure in that crisis, Witherspoon as leader of the opposition to Moderatism, McCosh as a founder of the Free Church; Witherspoon coming to Princeton in 1768, McCosh in 1868, each to spend the last twenty-six years of his life here, the one dying on November 15, 1794, and the other on November 16, 1894. And, to complete the coincidence, on the platform at Dr. McCosh's inauguration, as if to bring him, through some pretty whim of fortune, the benison of his great predecessor, there sat two of Witherspoon's own pupils, Elbert Herring and Joseph Warren Scott of the class of 1795.

No biographer of any of the men who took part in the reconstruction of American higher education after the close of the Civil War could fail to point out the signs of the time, and in his life of President McCosh, Professor Sloane has summed up the educational conditions in the country when President Maclean resigned. Public attention was turning to the development not only of the nation's natural but also of its educational resources. The era of great educational enterprise was dawning. Vast sums of money were to be given to the cause. Barnard, Eliot, Woolsey had already begun their work at Columbia, Harvard, and Yale; and Gilman was

presently to be appointed first president of the Johns Hopkins. Higher education had been suffering during the sixties, as Professor Sloane reminds his readers, not from lack of scholars and able teachers, as a glance through the college catalogues of those years will prove, but from the inadequate crystallized system and from a neglect of educational interests incident to the struggle for nationality through which the country was passing. It was in the directing of Princeton's part in the general awakening that Dr. McCosh's chief duty was to lie.

He found the inadequate crystallized system characteristic of American college curriculums perfectly illustrated at Princeton by the fact that in thirty years only two changes in entrance requirements had found their way into the list. President Maclean had followed the old and beaten track; the curriculum his undergraduates pursued differed in no very important feature from the one he himself had followed fifty years earlier. That it was a good curriculum as far as it went, and when compared with the course of study at other colleges, is true; indeed, it may be safely argued that for thoroughness of drill and for permanent mastery of fundamentals the American college curriculum of that time was more effective than most courses of study today. Many of the men who had lectured at Princeton under that curriculum were as brilliant as any in America, but the time had come when a broader, more supple, and more fruitful plan of study was imperatively needed if the College were to claim admission into the front ranks of higher education; and, simple as appears the curriculum which Dr. McCosh forty-five years ago proceeded to install, when compared with the myriad offerings of the modern university, in the Princeton of his day it was a tremendous leap ahead.

His inaugural must have sounded startlingly progressive, and on some local ears it must have fallen bewilderingly with its allusions to European educational methods and problems, its wealth of new ideas, its energetic tone, its advocacy of an elective system, its defence of athletics. From the undergraduate point of view the most interesting paragraph in the address was the one in which the new president touched on the immediate necessity of constructing a properly equipped gymnasium, a statement that was approved with a storm of cheers. He had not come to America, he said, with any design to revolutionize or reconstruct American colleges. The outgrowth of American conditions and American needs, they were not " to be rashly meddled with "; but whatever improvements they admitted of would have to be built up on the old foundations. The end of university teaching, he declared, was to educate, to draw out, stimulate, and strengthen the intellectual powers, to cultivate taste and sensibility for the finest art and literature. A university must impart scientific knowledge, real knowledge and practical, although he held that the teaching of science was not the only way in which this could be done; a university might also give professional instruction, but not as a mere instructor in mechanical arts. " Whatever it teaches," he said, " it should teach as science and in a literary academic spirit so as to impart to those members of the professions who come within our precincts a thoroughly scientific acquaintance with their subjects." To those preparing especially for the learned professions " the instruction given should be of a philosophic character, to fit them for entering in an intelligent manner and with a rich furniture of fundamental and established principles upon their professional studies." Fur-

ther, the aim of a university should be to promote literature and science; in other words, its members should produce as well as teach. And finally the glory of a college should be its alumni, who diffuse consciously or unconsciously a vivifying and humanizing influence, making learning respected because respectable, and spreading a thirst for culture. A college should be as Athens or Alexandria in ancient times, an intellectual metropolis whence a refining influence goes down to the provinces.

As for the subjects he would have taught, they were comprised under the four main divisions of language (classical and modern), mathematics, physical sciences, mental and social sciences. Under mental sciences he grouped psychology, logic, ethics, metaphysics, and esthetics, and under social sciences, political economy, jurisprudence, international law, and history. But so considerable a number of subjects necessarily implied selection; no student could be expected to crowd them all in a course of four years; choice was therefore inevitable and proper, but he would so control the choice that every student should be required to have at least an elementary acquaintance with most, if not all of these subjects, to have an idea of their method and be able to appreciate their importance.

Then he touched on the method of teaching he would employ and laid down the principle that it should be a combination of class lectures and small group recitations with frequent examination and quiz; and this led to a brief discussion of the place that examinations should hold in his plan.

He advocated the establishment of prizes, or some sort of higher scholarships or fellowships, as a reward for college work well done and as an inducement to

continue in studies. He had already observed that the best American students rushed from college into commercial or professional pursuits, thus necessarily hindering the development of higher learning in America, and it was to counteract the attractions of the materialistic age that he advocated his fellowship system. And in conclusion he touched briefly on his plans for material extension; he wanted funds to increase salaries, to build a gymnasium and more dormitories, to increase the library, and to endow new chairs.

There was a confident note in the address which gave his hearers courage to believe that, while he had laid out an ambitious programme, yet he was not seeking the impossible. Dr. McCosh lost no time in putting his ideas into execution. He entered upon his work with an energy no president had shown since Witherspoon. It was as if a heather-scented breeze had blown across the musty campus bringing with it freshening air, an eagerness for life, and the dawn of a new day. Before men had ceased to talk about his inaugural the president had made a beginning. At his third meeting with his faculty, for instance, he laid before his colleagues a remit from the board of trustees proposed by himself authorizing a radical change of immemorial practice by providing that the instruction of freshmen should no longer be relegated to tutors, the youngest and least experienced teachers on the staff.

Alumni who could not visit Princeton learned from the mere growth of the annual catalogue that red blood was once more stirring in the veins of their sluggish Alma Mater. During the first ten years of Dr. McCosh's reign the catalogue was practically trebled in size, and not trebled by padding. The first catalogue he issued gave alumni something to think about, for it stated that

in September of the next year (1869) important changes would go into effect. Freshmen would recite each week to senior professors and would no longer spend all their time in dreary hours with young instructors;[1] sophomores would hereafter take a course in natural history and also a modern language, and most important innovation of all, a scheme of restricted electives for juniors and seniors was set forth. Friends of the College who might be more interested in the physical side than in the intellectual were informed that a new gymnasium was to be erected during the coming year, and in January, 1870, the Bonner-Marquand Gymnasium was duly opened, containing, incidentally, the first bathing facilities in a Princeton college building. A new recitation-hall was also announced. The gloomy old classrooms were, in the president's own phrase, "temptations to disorder," while according to a more specific critic they were "mostly ill-conditioned cellars and attics." It was not an unheard-of thing to find the benches all cast into the stove on a cold morning, and orderly recitation well-nigh impossible. The best of the rooms did double duty as museums or laboratories as well as lecture-rooms, and were overcrowded. A new recitation building was therefore an imperative necessity, and by September, 1870, Dickinson Hall, named after the first president, was ready. The top floor of the building was planned as an examination hall, and this admitted at once of systematization in the conduct of college examinations. The next catalogue announced the establishment of fellowships and prizes and published a list of scholarships. It also made a beginning toward the development of

[1] This was Dr. McCosh's attempt to combine the personal oversight of the English tutorial system with the class and lecture system of Germany, Scotland, and America.

alumni solidarity by printing in a conspicuous place the names of officers of the Alumni Association of Nassau Hall, and giving the organization publicity. It is a safe guess that annual catalogues were more eagerly scanned during the first ten years of Dr. McCosh's administration than they ever had been before or have been since.

The most important single addition to the equipment of the College made during this period was the establishment of the John C. Green School of Science. The first prospectus of the School of Science, issued in 1872, showed that it was intended not to be a scientific school separate from the academic department, but rather a means to strengthen the latter in its scientific branches by providing teachers, museums, and scientific apparatus. Therefore, besides mathematics, physics, chemistry (theoretical and practical), geology, physical geography, zoology, botany, mineralogy, and English composition, its students would be required to make a selection from the following humanistic studies: Latin, French, German, history, logic, ethics, psychology, political economy, international law, and natural theology. On the completion of the course the degree of bachelor of arts would be conferred. It was proposed also to arrange advanced courses for graduate study and leading to the doctorate in science and philosophy.

For students seeking a scientific education with a fair literary culture, but not desiring the classics and advanced philosophical courses, the circular proposed a three-year course and the degree of bachelor of science. This plan was discarded, however, before the School of Science was opened. The scientific schools at Yale, Stevens, and Columbia had been visited and a building had been planned on the experience of these places.

The endowment of professorships in physics and civil engineering, and of adjunct professorships in chemistry and geology were called for, and it was proposed to graft on, as fast as they became feasible, technical courses such as engineering (mechanical and mining), agriculture, and fine arts. Especially was it desirable to found at once a civil engineering course. This course, created in 1875, and a course in architecture, created in 1876, leading to the degree of bachelor of architecture, were the only ones actually established. In 1873 the courses leading to the bachelor's and master's degrees in science were announced. Here Dr. McCosh was reaping where President Maclean had sown, and one after another came the generous gifts by which the name of the Green family is ineradicably attached to that of Princeton.

The college buildings and their furnishing were a disappointment to the president when he first saw them, and he set to work at once to improve general physical conditions. First, however, came the Gymnasium in 1870, the most important undergraduate need, then Dickinson Hall so that recitations might be held with some dignity, and examinations with system and comfort. Next came a dormitory, Reunion; and in 1872 the charming Chancellor Green Library, long a model of its kind save in its opaque windows. With at last the proper housing of the books came the appointment of a professional librarian and the collection began to grow in size and use. In 1873 the School of Science building was erected, more successful in its equipment perhaps than in its architecture. University Hall, originally a hotel, became a college dormitory in 1883. Murray Hall, devoted to the religious activities of the College, was erected in 1879, to be overshadowed in 1881 by Mar-

quand Chapel, when the Old Chapel became a lecture-room. The Observatory of Instruction used by the classes in astronomy supplemented in 1878 the Halsted Observatory, which had been completed in 1869. Witherspoon Hall, a dormitory somewhat more pretentious in its appointments than the others, was erected in 1880, and was followed by Edwards Hall, as plain as Witherspoon was ornate. The Class of 1877 Biological Laboratory and the Art Museum, both presented in 1887, complete the list of the McCosh buildings. A notable addition to College property was the purchase of "Prospect" for the residence of the president, where he might live with becoming dignity and as the official host receive and entertain the growing procession of visitors to the College. The variety of use that these buildings connote illustrates the many-sided expansion that was going on.

At the same time, the president was improving the natural appearance of the campus, laying new walks, cutting away undergrowth and dead timber, and setting out new trees; it was thus that he spent his hours of relaxation. "I remember," he said in his valedictory, "the days sunshine or cloudy, in April and November, in which I cut down dozens of deformed trees and shrubs, and planted hundreds of new ones which will live when I am dead." A comparison of photographs of the campus before his time and after, is the readiest demonstration of the efficiency of his double service. Like other men of vision Dr. McCosh was severely criticised for putting so much money into stone and mortar, although every building he put up was absolutely needed. One has but to read the New York and Philadelphia newspapers of the middle 70's to find alumni grumbling in print at the way things were going. There were those

who hankered for the " old days " and who disapproved entirely of the bustle and energy that had supplanted the former dreamless quietude. Others pointed out that the old buildings and equipment had been good enough for them and for their teachers—for men like Torrey and Henry—why were they not sufficient for the new generation? Why was not Dr. McCosh spending his money in enlarging his faculty, especially on the scientific side? And as usual with such critics, these fault-finders were in possession of but half the facts. Dr. McCosh went ahead, viewing the buildings as outward expressions of a growing internal life.

The criticisms might have been valid had he made the erection of buildings and the clearing of the campus his chief emprise; but side by side with these physical improvements a twofold spiritual process was going on of which time alone could show the fruitage. Within the College was commencing an intellectual reformation which meant the birth of the university spirit; while outside of Princeton and its semi-seclusion, in the circle of alumni affiliations enthusiasm and support were being aroused and organized, in a way by which alone the great developments of the future could have been attained.

The intellectual reform was begun at the bottom, and in elementals. The undergraduate curriculum had been taken up at once by the president. Mindful of his inaugural declaration he had resolved to keep all that was good in the old course of study and yet find room for new studies entitled to a place beside the old. He believed, however, that there were eternal verities in education as in philosophy and in religion, and he could not be shaken from his position by any passing phase of educational experiment, however enticing. The good

in any new theory he would take but only to weld it on to his academic substructure, not to displace it. The result was a new curriculum devised by a committee of the faculty under his direction whereby freshman and sophomore years were devoted almost entirely to required subjects; junior year saw the introduction of elective studies, while senior year was largely composed of them. The appointment of a faculty committee to devise a new curriculum was of itself an indication of the new spirit, and harbinger of the new attitude that the faculty was to take toward its function. Until this time its deliberations, almost without exception, had been confined to the administration of discipline. Now, no longer a handful of estimable gentlemen perceiving no immediate problems to solve but those that concerned a strict preservation of the College decalogue, the faculty was to become a body of eager teachers, on the one hand striving to develop a remodeled educational machine and hence more interested in educational policies than in petty hairsplittings as to the punishment of defiant lawbreakers, and on the other, earnestly at work in their own special fields. Professor Sloane has described the way in which Dr. McCosh brought the first of these conditions about. "Men familiar with other institutions and with education in both continents, specialists of eminence and trained teachers, were sought with assiduity to fill vacancies but when found they were not necessarily chosen; one final test was imposed by Dr. McCosh in his own mind, that they should be likely to acquire enthusiasm and to develop loyalty for those things for which Princeton stood. Perfectly aware that system was nothing without men to work it, he used the faculty meeting as a forum for the discussion of educational questions, reducing its judiciary function to

a minimum. It became, therefore, a means of unifying the sentiments and methods of the instructors, of inspiring them with a feeling of co-operation, and above all else of giving them an opening for the enforcement upon the president of the opinions they derived from their own experiences."[1]

Fast on the heels of the new curriculum came its logical sequel, the organization of graduate instruction and the standardization of candidacy for the higher degrees. Graduate students are found in Princeton history as early as 1760, when President Davies mentions the fact that five such were "pursuing studies" in College.[2] These may have been theological students, in which case it is odd that Mr. Davies does not so describe them. In Dr. Witherspoon's time the College was rarely, if ever, without resident graduates either studying divinity or following the courses of special reading he announced himself prepared to lay out for those who desired to continue their college work. Twenty-three graduate students were in residence in 1823. In 1829-1830 nine graduates were studying medicine with Dr. Howell, and three others were reading chemistry with Professor Torrey. A few years later, in addition to the group of law students were several bona fide graduate students. So that the idea of pursuing further study under faculty direction after graduation was scarcely new. In 1869 Dr. McCosh introduced fellowships and in 1877 he reported to the board of trustees that for some years past a few graduates had been receiving instruction. But this year marks the first attempt to systematize that instruction. Graduate courses were regularly authorized and forty-two men immediately re-

[1] "Life of James McCosh," p. 245.
[2] New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. I, p. 78.

sponded, eleven of whom were devoting themselves purely to science. In 1878 twelve graduate courses were offered—four in philosophy, five in literature, and three in science, each consisting of at least one hour, and not more than three, a week. In 1888 the number of graduate students had grown to seventy-eight and the number of courses offered to twenty-eight.

In his report of 1877 the president had spoken of graduate work in Princeton as grouped under the three schools of philosophy, philology (literature), and science. In the last-named school, as we have seen, the degree of master of science had been instituted. To obtain this the candidate was required to hold a bachelor's degree in either arts or science and to reveal satisfactory knowledge of such of the studies named below as he had not previously pursued and, further, to show by dissertation and examination special proficiency in selections from these studies: biology, mathematics, practical astronomy, applied chemistry, qualitative analysis, quantitative analysis, physics, mineralogy, drawing, modern languages. In the next year (1878) the first regulations governing the doctor's degree in philosophy or science and the master's degree in arts were published. Any bachelor of arts or science devoting two years exclusively to graduate work at Princeton, passing examination and presenting a satisfactory dissertation containing the result of original research, might apply for the doctor's degree in philosophy or science. Any bachelor of arts devoting one year exclusively to graduate study at Princeton and passing examination thereon was entitled to apply for the master's degree in arts two years after taking his bachelor's degree. Any bachelor of arts pursuing at least one graduate course a year for two years, and passing examination was entitled to apply

for the master of arts degree. Bachelors of arts pursuing a learned profession, including that of teaching, were entitled to apply for the master of arts degree three years after graduation and bachelors of arts not pursuing a learned profession, including teaching, were entitled to the master's degree on presentation of a satisfactory dissertation three years after graduation.

While, therefore, the master's degree was safeguarded in the case of candidates of less than three years' standing, it was still possible for a bachelor to receive the degree on the old three-year basis, which meant that it was conferred on practically all who had pursued professional or literary callings or who contrived to get the ear of a good-natured clerk of the faculty and so caused their names to be presented to the board of trustees—a procedure scarcely more arduous than that laid down in the laws of 1748, when those gentlemen who had prosecuted their studies—which meant any studies—for three years after graduation and had " not been scandalous in their Lives and conduct " were eligible for the master's degree. Samuel Davies had received the master's degree in 1753 on defending a thesis. In President Finley's day candidates had to reside in or near College for a week before commencement and submit to all college laws including a certain amount of chapel, and before commencement they had to undergo a public examination in such subjects " as have a more direct Connection with that profession of Life which they have entered upon or have in View . . . and shall make such Preparation for the Commencement as the officers of the College shall judge proper." This was the origin at Princeton of the master's oration, which remained on commencement programmes until 1888. The requirements for the doctor's degree were soon improved. By

1886 the degree in philosophy was open to bachelors of arts who pursued two years of prescribed graduate study, one year of which was spent at Princeton in the department of philosophy. The degree was conferred after examination and the presentation of a satisfactory dissertation. The degree in science was open to bachelors of arts or science who pursued two years of graduate study in science, passed examination, and presented a dissertation; while the degree of doctor of literature was open to a bachelor of arts who devoted two years to the study of literature, ancient and modern, one year being spent in Princeton. The degrees might be conferred on graduates of the College without residence after three years of study under the direction of the faculty, coming up from time to time for examination. By special permission of the faculty graduates of other colleges might be allowed to pursue a prescribed course of graduate study under superintendence and might then apply for any of the doctor's degrees.

In 1886 these requirements were reviewed and in the next year a new set of regulations was issued governing the doctor's degrees, the requirements for the master's degrees remaining unchanged. Graduates of Princeton and of other colleges were placed on the same footing and the rules were applied identically. All candidates for the doctorate were hereafter to be graduates of an approved college. A bachelor of arts might apply for any of the doctor's degrees, but a bachelor of science (or equivalent) might apply only for the doctorate in science or for the degree of doctor of philosophy in science. Each candidate at the beginning of the year was to pass a preliminary examination upon subjects "intimately connected with his proposed course of study, and which," in the language of the new rule, were

" necessary for its successful prosecution." On fulfilling this requirement for admission the candidate might adopt one of two plans—(1) a two years' course of prescribed study, one of the years being spent at Princeton in exclusive work in his chosen department, or (2) a three years' course under direction but without residence. The latter plan would not demand the exclusive employment of the candidate's time in prescribed study for the degree. Having chosen one or the other of these plans the candidate, at the beginning of his course, was to announce for approval by the faculty a chief subject of study and, during the first year of his course, two subsidiary subjects. At an appointed time in the closing year of his course he was to present a thesis in the department of his chief subject showing evidence of high scholarship and original research, and at the end of his course he was to pass final examinations on his chief and subsidiary subjects. But he was not to be admitted to examination until his thesis was accepted. It is scarcely necessary to point out the great advance along the lines of system, uniformity, and higher standard made in this plan as compared with the conditions prevailing before its adoption.

In Dr. McCosh's opinion the average scholarship of the great body of American college students was as high as that of European, but in Great Britain and Germany there was reared a body of ripe scholars with whom America as yet had nothing to compare. To attempt the creation of a similar body at Princeton he proposed prizes and fellowships. Not only would the cause of higher learning in America be served by the institution of fellowships on a substantial footing, but the presence at Princeton of picked incumbents devoting themselves to higher learning would tend to raise the

intellectual tone of the College; and no one had ever heard it claimed that the intellectual tone of Princeton during the two decades before 1870 was of high order. Fellowships had been talked of at Princeton as early as 1818, but the first one in the history of the College was granted in 1845 to William Wilberforce Lord, who had delivered a much praised course of lectures on English literature, and from whom great things were expected in the field of poetry and criticism until pastoral labors crushed the creative powers within him. Fellowships in those days were sporadic; they were awarded under no system and carried no emoluments—Mr. Lord had been compelled to charge admission to his lectures and they were popular in College notwithstanding. When Dr. McCosh made his proposal the idea was still new. Harvard founded three fellowships in 1868-1869. Dr. McCosh founded three in the same academic year and after 1873 the number varied from six to fourteen. By the end of his incumbency fellows had become an important part of the superstructure of the undergraduate department. They were not held to residence in Princeton. For instance, in 1876 five were at Leipsic, one at Oxford, one in New York, and only one at Princeton. The value of this innovation, when estimated by its results in the growth of the educational spirit, is evidenced by the careers of the one hundred and thirty fellows appointed at Princeton from 1870 to 1886. During the twenty years prior to Dr. McCosh's inauguration only forty-two of the thirteen hundred graduates of Princeton had reached college professorships; while of the fourteen hundred and fifty-one graduates whom he sent out in the first sixteen years of his presidency seventy were appointed to professorships in twenty-nine universities and colleges.

In no single department was greater progress ultimately shown during Dr. McCosh's administration than in that of the sciences. It was his opinion that the scientific apparatus and collections of the College when he arrived were fit only to be burned. During his presidency the equipment, especially in botany, geology, zoology, and paleontology, was enormously increased in quantity and value. Expeditions to the West brought back masses of material for Princeton laboratories. A particularly important advance on the scientific side was the completion of the Halsted Observatory and the installment of what was then one of the largest telescopes in the country, followed by the erection of the Observatory of Instruction and the calling of the late Professor Charles A. Young to the chair of astronomy to succeed Professor Stephen Alexander. Similarly the erection of the '77 Biological Laboratory and the installation of the Histological Laboratory bore witness to the progress in biologic studies, and the reports of the E. M. Museum of geology and archeology to the activity in those departments.

Developments like these obviously could not have been made without corresponding increase in the instructional staff and in the endowment. The ridiculously small endowment that the College possessed has already been pointed out. In 1868 it was only $476,000; by 1879 it had been raised to $985,000, and in 1888 it amounted to $1,443,000, including general and special funds, a small sum compared with the endowment of other places, but still a large advance over earlier conditions. The criticism that Dr. McCosh had spent his money on externals instead of developing his faculty was not based on fact. The faculty showed marked growth. In 1868 it consisted of the president, nine professors, one assistant professor,

four tutors, two "teachers," and three extra-curriculum lecturers, a total of twenty; in 1876 it consisted of the president, fifteen professors, three assistant professors, six tutors, and one lecturer, a total of twenty-six; in 1888 it numbered forty-one beside the president and contained thirty professors, four assistant professors, three instructors, two tutors, and two assistants. Similarly the undergraduate enrolment showed increase, growing from two hundred and eighty-one in 1868 to six hundred and three in 1888. In view of Princeton's location and history it was Dr. McCosh's belief that her future lay in the preservation of a great coherent and unified undergraduate body with an inheritance of tradition and a love of Alma Mater to carry into the alumni world. He therefore insisted that sufficient dormitory accommodation be created to house all undergraduates on the campus where they would share in a common wholesome life, and where their control by college authority would be facilitated. He was not able to keep pace with the demand, but he had no doubts as to the validity of his belief, and the University since his day has seen no reason to change his policy, but rather every reason to emphasize and pursue it.

In summarizing the original prospectus of the School of Science allusion was made to the course in architecture therein proposed. The degree of bachelor of architecture was instituted in 1876, and the four-year course leading to it was offered first in 1878. The course was based on the fundamentals of the bachelor of science curriculum with a number of technical additions, many of which under the circumstances could hardly have avoided the criticism of superficiality. The degree was never conferred and the experiment was abandoned in three years.

Another degree new to Princeton, that of bachelor of divinity, was offered first in 1886 to graduates of the Princeton Theological Seminary who had pursued for two years courses of study prescribed by examiners appointed by the board of trustees and had been periodically examined by them, one of the two years being spent in Princeton. The degree might also be conferred on graduates of the Seminary who had devoted three years to theological study under superintendence of examiners appointed by the board. These requirements were changed in 1887, and from that date until 1899 the degree was open to bachelors of arts of any approved college who had completed a three years' course in theology at any approved institution, followed by a two-year course of prescribed theological study, the latter to be formulated, and all examinations thereon to be conducted, by examiners appointed by the board of trustees. The fees were to be the same as those for the degree of doctor of philosophy or science. The degree of bachelor of divinity was never conferred and in 1899 was abolished.

It need not be imagined that on the campus Dr. McCosh's progress was all easy sailing. At the outset he encountered much of the old inertia in the faculty and found remains of old discontents among the undergraduates to struggle with and rectify or eradicate. As one of his pupils has said, the first few years of his rule were years of incredible effort; he had to hew his way through rock, but he was farsighted and, although sometimes impatient in manner, was endlessly patient in effort. And he had the gift whose presence had long been denied a place in Princeton's councils, the gift of humor, dry, and native, and often unintentional, but for that reason only the more welcome. A collection

of Dr. McCosh's quick retorts and pungent remarks would be a treasury of apt comment and shrewd wit; and many of the most entertaining paragraphs would be those he least would have suspected of being amusing—their humor, for American readers, lying in the situation: an outspoken and somewhat easily roused Scotchman set down in a totally foreign environment. Dr. Maclean had handled his problems in the old-fashioned ways, and by his lovable character and his kindliness had earned the affection of his pupils. Dr. McCosh won their loyalty first through their respect tinged with a certain amount of fear. Ashbel Green speaking of President Witherspoon said that when he was angry "his aspect was truly awful"; Dr. McCosh, in similar circumstances, with his magnificent presence and the deep vibrant tone his voice could take, seemed like the towering wrath of Heaven. What he could not rectify he stamped out by sheer will power. He has told in his autobiography how he quelled an incipient rebellion and how he put down hazing—a sensational incident which the press and a few misinformed alumni did not fail to discuss.

His first great struggle was with the fraternities which, in spite of the pledge exacted from every entering student, were maintaining an illicit existence in College. The older societies, obedient to the spirit and letter of the pledge, had long ago given up their charters, but with a casuistry which seems indefensible to a later observer certain younger fraternities persisted in activity. By these societies pressure was sometimes brought to bear on trustees and benefactors in hope of securing exemption from molestation by the authorities. Dr. McCosh had been warned on his arrival that the influence of fraternities at Princeton had not been for

good. In fact, leading men of other institutions expressed to him the wish that the colleges might combine to abolish fraternities; but no other college had the substitute that Princeton possessed in her two ancient literary societies, and the united effort was never made. Early enough in his attempts to abolish petty abuses Dr. McCosh found himself confronted with the united opposition of the fraternities. Finally, in 1875, members of the fraternities were believed to be combining against the rest of the College for college honors and the whole matter of the pledge and fraternity activity in spite of the pledge was taken up by the Halls, and it was resolved by them to support the authorities of the College in their effort to uproot the interlopers. It was no secret that some of the societies were exerting a distinctly bad influence, and to them the degeneration of good students was in many cases clearly traceable. In 1876, after an investigation in which the charges were fully substantiated, communications from the members of the five existing fraternities were received and on the written and signed assurance that the chapters had been dissolved and would not be revived as long as the pledge remained, the faculty reconsidered the vote of dismissal it had passed. With the fraternity question definitely settled, discipline in general became a simpler task. It is true that by no means all the works of darkness were cast off; hazing itself reappeared in milder forms; but the earlier brutalities, with the deserved but undesirable notoriety they brought, were crushed forever. Undergraduate hostility to the faculty and the latter's schoolroom attitude to their pupils gradually faded into insignificance; rebellions and barrings-out were relegated to ancient history.

The spirit of lawlessness, of criticism, and of dissatisfaction that Dr. McCosh had met in the opening years of

his administration passed away " as the improvement in the organization and work of the institution became evident, as the paternal character of severe discipline was understood, and as the fearless march of the president and professors toward a lofty, invigorating, democratic university life became impressive. Then at last the Princeton youth became a pattern of loyalty, an enthusiast for the college which in lifting itself was lifting him. Idleness banished, work well regulated, sport substituted as far as possible for vice, the moral responsibility quickened by a strong faith—such was Dr. McCosh's theory of the process in which college students with all their imperfections were to be fitted to lead the life of their respective communities to higher things." [1]

The support Dr. McCosh gave to athletics and physical culture aided him enormously in this direction. It was considered a notable innovation and an incident worth recording in the news columns of the *Nassau Literary Magazine* when he made his first appearance at a college game. The introduction of annual athletic competitions such as the Caledonian Games, the gymnastic exhibition in connection with the celebration of Washington's Birthday, the institution of college championships in one branch or another of sport, and the beginning of Princeton's part in organized intercollegiate athletics all date from his administration.

With the introduction of new studies, the appointment of new professors, the erection of new buildings, and the acquisition of new and enlarged equipment came a responsive quickening in the intellectual life of the student body. To put the matter simply, college work particularly among upperclassmen began to acquire a more serious manner. An especially stimulating innovation

[1] W. M. Sloane, " Life of James McCosh," p. 246.

was the institution of what were called " library meetings " held from time to time in the president's study and addressed by leaders in the academic world or by notable men outside of that world, to which the best upperclassmen were invited to hear, and take part in, discussions of living problems. There was on the campus no lack of carefree undergraduate way of life—and it will be a day of ill omen when the Princeton undergraduate grows old beyond his years; but a distinctly maturer note is perceptible in a survey of the College during the second decade of Dr. McCosh's administration.

On the side of campus life, to this period belongs the founding of most of the modern systematic student organizations. Men were finding more to do in the nature of so-called extra-curriculum activities, less leisure for petty mischief, and less unreasoning desire to irritate authority. Organizations like the Dramatic Association (now the Triangle Club), and the Glee Club, both of which had sporadic predecessors, the Conference Committee (superseded by the Senior Council), and publications like the *Princetonian,* the *Tiger,* the *Nassau Herald,* and the *Bric-à-brac* began lives of permanence and usefulness. Class spirit and college loyalty became more highly developed. The first can be carried to an extreme, and college loyalty has its critics; but to these two elements in the campus life of Princeton is due the strength of the college on the undergraduate side as Dr. McCosh developed it.

Religious activity in college was likewise invigorated and systematized. In the words of Dean Murray, Dr. McCosh persistently sought to develop the Christian element in college life, and though an ardent Presbyterian by deep conviction, he avoided anything which would divert attention from his aim to make the college

Christian rather than denominational. The founding of the St. Paul's Society for students of the Protestant Episcopal Church is an illustration. Under the guidance of the rector of Trinity Church, the Reverend Alfred B. Baker (1861), the St. Paul's Society began during Dr. McCosh's time its long and useful work. Dr. McCosh began the practice of administering the Holy Communion in chapel at the beginning and at the end of the college year. The opening of Marquand Chapel gave the formal religious exercises of the College a dignity and a setting they had never before enjoyed, and the erection of Murray Hall as the headquarters of the Philadelphian Society prepared the way for marked practical development of its work. From it went out, for example, in 1877 two of the leaders in the organization of the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. of America, Luther B. Wishard and William Libbey, both of the class of 1877, and in 1886 John N. Forman (1884) and Robert P. Wilder (1886) initiated the Student Volunteer Movement of which one of the most striking outgrowths is the "Princeton Work in Peking" whose story has been retold in a recent number of the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* (February 11, 1914).

The transformation that was going on in the life of the College had its counterpart in the larger Princeton outside the campus. Alumni were beginning to take an active interest in the affairs of the College in a way the members of Dr. Maclean's old Alumni Association of Nassau Hall had never been able to do. Recognizing as clearly as President Davies that Princeton, like all privately endowed colleges, must depend ultimately on the loyalty of her alumni and on their financial support, the president endeavored by every means to keep his graduates in close touch with the College, and to culti-

McCosh Walk and President McCosh

vate alumni solidarity. He founded new alumni associations and visited them in the interest of the College, traveling thousands of miles to report on the progress of affairs at home; and he made, in 1886, the first proposal that the alumni should appoint a permanent advisory committee to consult with the board of trustees and to make recommendations. His proposal was not adopted and it was not until 1900 that a plan of alumni representation on the board was put into operation. By 1886 there were seventeen flourishing Princeton alumni associations in existence and others in process of formation. To-day there are forty-six associations, beside the parent Alumni Association of Nassau Hall, now in its eighty-seventh year.

No Princetonian will grudge Dr. McCosh the credit due him for this enterprise and for sowing the seeds of what has become a distinguishing feature of the relations of Princeton alumni to their college; but, after all, he could have accomplished little without the aid of men who were willing to assume the actual labor involved in bringing these relations about. The Alumni Association of New York, later incorporated as the Princeton Club of New York, was a pioneer in this work, having first fostered alumni interest among its own members and then having stimulated graduates living outside of its territory to follow its example. And, if it may be said with the fullest appreciation of the valuable service of many other men, to no one in the New York Association did more work fall, or is more honor due for the existing solidarity of Princeton alumni, than to one of Dr. McCosh's own pupils, a man whose life as a graduate and as a trustee has been the representative example of unshaken loyalty to Princeton—Moses Taylor Pyne, of the class of 1877.

Dr. McCosh's most ambitious dream remains to be mentioned. He had intended that the new studies he introduced into the curriculum should be eventually so grouped and combined that they would result in forming the *studium generale* of the traditional university. He believed that with the materials available he could have constructed a university of high order. Moreover, he was confident that this step would have been followed by an outflow of liberality which would have enabled him to give the institution wider range of usefulness in both the undergraduate and the graduate departments. But the realization of this dream was denied him. Old age fell on his willing frame; he had brought the College, as he said, to the very borders, and he left it to another to carry over into the land of promise. Advancing years led him to resign in 1888. Some time before this he had contemplated the step, and had been induced to retain the presidency by the appointment of Professor James Ormsbee Murray to the deanship of the College, thus relieving himself of the disciplinary burden. He was in his fifty-eighth year when he came to Princeton, and his years as president had been years of ceaseless activity that would have satisfied a far younger man. Until his death in 1894, he spent the remainder of his days in Princeton, a presence on which undergraduates who had never been his pupils gazed curiously when they saw him in his seat at Sunday chapel or met his massive stooped figure, with the great white head, under the arching trees of the Walk named after him. If Nassau Hall was the monument of Governor Belcher and President Burr, Dr. McCosh had but to look about him for his memorial; it was the new Princeton of the coming century.

VII

THE UNIVERSITY

The Administration of President Patton. Special Students. Higher Degrees. New Buildings. The Honor System. The Sesquicentennial Anniversary. The Graduate School. Passing of Old Princeton. Alumni Representation. Upper-Class Clubs. The Administration of President Wilson. New Course of Study. Senior Council. Preceptorial Method of Instruction. The "Quad" Plan. The Graduate College. The Graduate Council. The Inauguration of President Hibben. The Constitution of the University.

Dr. McCosh's successor was found in the faculty. Born in Bermuda in 1843, educated at Knox College, Toronto, and at Princeton Seminary, after brief metropolitan pastorates the Reverend Doctor Francis Landey Patton had been called to the chair of theology at McCormick Seminary, whence Princeton Seminary had taken him in 1881. Since 1884 he had also occupied the chair of ethics in the College.

He was inaugurated at commencement in 1888, the day Dr. McCosh delivered his farewell. During the fourteen years of Dr. Patton's administration the number of undergraduates rose from six hundred and three to one thousand three hundred and fifty-four, while the faculty was increased from forty to one hundred. During the same period seventeen new buildings were erected, of which seven significantly enough were dormitories. Although it is too soon to estimate at its proper value an administration which ended only a decade ago, yet it will be seen that processes were then set at work which have set an indelible stamp

on Princeton. From this period, for instance, may be dated the modern development of the campus, the introduction of the English collegiate gothic into American university architecture, the opening of the School of Electrical Engineering, the introduction of new entrance requirements, and the revision of the course of study along lines which were to be perfected in the next administration, the stiffening of the requirements for the higher degrees, the adoption of the honor system in the conduct of examinations, the transformation of the alumni body into an intelligent condition of organized co-operation, the erection of the University Library, the celebration of the sesquicentennial anniversary of the founding of the College, the adoption of the university title, the inception of the Graduate College idea, and the grant of alumni representation on the board of trustees.

The most notable step of progress associated with the administration of Dr. Patton was clearly foreshadowed in his inaugural delivered on the afternoon of the June day when Dr. McCosh recounted the work of his twenty years at Princeton. President Maclean, as we have seen, had continued in the ways of his predecessors without any attempt to reach after higher or more adventurous things. During the fifty years before him it had been tacitly agreed that the College was to be, like the original organ in the prayer-hall, "small tho' good," and the ambitions of President Smith's day had long been lost sight of. It is doubtful, as Dr. DeWitt has pointed out, whether in organizing medical courses and in opening a law school the authorities had really foreseen that they were making the experiment of an American university. These projects had been discarded after no very serious effort to develop them, the theological department had

been surrendered, and Dr. Maclean had been content—and under the circumstances wise—to devote his energies to a well-tried, time-honored, and purely undergraduate curriculum. Then came President McCosh with new energies, new ideas, and enthusiastic support. On the solid though moss-covered foundation bequeathed to him he had built up a new edifice and opened the gates to higher development. He had introduced new and various studies with the intention, as stated in the preceding chapter, of ultimately forming the *studium generale* of the traditional university.

The plan had been talked of repeatedly, and there was no surprise, therefore, that President Patton in his inaugural should have pointed out how easily and rightly the " College of New Jersey " might in the near future assume the title " Princeton University." The grounds of this assumption were laid down more completely in the official record [1] of the sesquicentennial celebration some eight years later. Princeton had to conform to the genius of her history and grow along the lines that had been determined by her past, a past that had given her a traditional university constitution. Her true future, therefore, lay not in developing professional schools for the pursuit of utilitarian ends but in upholding the cause of pure learning, and although no change in the terms of the old charter, so liberally was it devised, would have been necessary to enable the College to assume the higher title, nevertheless it was felt that her future depended on improvement and expansion along her historical lines rather than upon any venturing on a scheme of radical reconstruction. The rural situation of Princeton, the only place in America where so

[1] " Memorial Book of the Sesquicentennial Celebration," New York, 1898.

large and so old a college was to be found in a village, rendered it admirably suited to the development of a university devoted to pure learning and to the liberal aspects of those studies which underlie and help to broaden professional and technical education. The chief emphasis, therefore, should be laid on the enlargement of the library and the equipment of laboratories, on the creation of new departments and the strengthening of the old, on the establishment of additional professorships and the creation of fellowships and graduate scholarships for the furtherance of higher studies, and on building additional dormitories to centralize more completely, and thus to foster, a unified, manly, scholarly undergraduate life.

It was agreed that it would be well to wait until there had been further development and raising of standards along these lines before assuming the title of University, and during the first eight years all the effort of the administration was directed toward these ends. In a notable opening address to the College in September, 1888, the president made it clear that when he was thinking of the Princeton of the future he was not solely, nor even chiefly, anticipating the erection of buildings, or large additions to the number of undergraduates, but rather of the opportunities Princeton was to offer for doing advanced work in all departments. He felt the influence of the thought that the College had been quietly getting ready through Dr. McCosh's administration to step into a larger life and that the talk about the university idea, of which so much had been heard, had beneath it a depth of sentiment which would produce marked results during the next few years. In other words, though the expansion would come chiefly with reference to graduate work and higher degrees, the

first and main function of the College, given its history and traits, was so to conduct and develop the instruction leading to the first degree that there would be natural progress from that up into graduate work; and the president suggested the lines along which this advance would best come. It is interesting to note that he then advocated, that is, as early as 1888, the system of " assisted electives " which underlay the revision of the curriculum in the next administration.

The improvement of the course of study, the first step of every new administration, was the first task Dr. Patton's faculty took up, and a year later the result was adopted by the board of trustees. The underlying principles of this revision were briefly the preservation, in required studies, of the essentials of a liberal education, and the extension of opportunities for special work along the line of the student's tastes, by a decided increase in his elective studies together with such coordination of the latter with the required as to tend toward intelligent and coherent choice on the part of the student. The vital difference between the last principle and the one underlying the revision adopted by the next administration was that with the experience of the Patton administration it was possible in the later revision to make coherent choice on the part of the student not merely feasible, but obligatory.

In June, 1889, was announced the opening of the School of Electrical Engineering, offering a course designed to furnish instruction in the theory of electricity and its application to the arts and industries. The course is a graduate one, occupying two years.

A vital problem which affected the whole matter of standards, was meanwhile awaiting action. Provision had been made in 1874 for graduates " or others " de-

siring to devote themselves to special studies in the School of Science, and to such students certificates of proficiency were given on the termination of their work. In 1877 special students began to appear similarly in the academic department. No definite regulations governing their admission, however, were formulated until 1883, and in the meantime they were fast growing into a large and heterogeneous body consisting only too seldom of graduate devotees to particular studies, and only too often of " others " who, conscious of their inability to meet the regular entrance requirements, waived all claim to a degree and adopted the less exacting method of entering the attractive life of the College by registering as " specials." The numbers grew until in 1888-1889 one student in every nine was a special. Bad as this showing was it did not compare unfavorably with that made by several other colleges, the average for twenty-five institutions in the Middle States being at that time one in six. The obvious task before the new administration was to eliminate the undesirables and to stiffen the backbone of the rest. An adamantine committee was placed in charge, and surviving frequent accusations that it was totally lacking in bowels of compassion at length reached the position forthwith adopted by the authorities that special students of only two kinds are worth retaining—genuine special students with particular qualifications and aptitudes who earnestly desire to do special work, and are rarely found, and those men described under the present Princeton nomenclature as " qualifying " students, who must either make up limited deficiencies within a set time and thus qualify in one of the four classes as candidates for a degree, or failing so to do must withdraw from College. The former swarm of seekers after sugared knowledge imme-

diately found insuperable barriers erected across their intended entrance into the University, and ceased to knock at the gates.

The next step toward elevation of standard was to stiffen the requirements for the higher degrees. The beginning of a systematic administration of these degrees was found, it will be remembered, in President McCosh's time. Toward the close of his administration (1886) the whole matter of university degrees was reviewed, and regulations tending to raise them to the highest standards were adopted. In 1892 these were subjected to fresh consideration, and such improvements by way of further safeguard for the master's and doctor's degrees were incorporated as experience dictated. Since that date the master's degree has been obtainable only by bachelors of arts or science who, by graduate study and appropriate examination, or by satisfactory dissertation presented not earlier than three years after graduation, have earned the distinction. The doctorate in philosophy or science was likewise so additionally safeguarded as to represent on the one hand purely liberal scholarship and on the other proficiency in applied science. The doctoral examination was stiffened, greater definiteness being attached to the major subject and the two minors, an effort being made to avoid both the danger of over-specialization to the injury of breadth of knowledge, and the danger of superficiality due to too great comprehensiveness. The experiment of accepting non-resident candidates for the doctorate had involved so much labor in the way of oversight that it was deemed expedient to discontinue it, there being no safeguard equal to university residence.

The new curriculum carried with it a new set of entrance requirements, which were reported in the winter

of 1892-1893 and went into effect in the following June, their chief feature being a modification of minimum requirements of all candidates and the introduction of maximum requirements intended to give those who showed advanced attainments in one or more subjects correspondingly advanced standing in those subjects.

Meanwhile, with this general raising of standards and modernizing of the course of study the College had entered on a second era of building. In the autumn of 1888 the '77 Biological Laboratory was opened, followed in 1889 by the erection of the Electrical Engineering Laboratory and the Dynamo Building. In 1890 with due ceremony the cornerstones of the present marble halls, replacing the old wooden buildings of the forties, were laid by Dr. McCosh for Whig Hall and President Patton for Clio. Two dormitories, Dod and Brown, came in quick succession. In 1891 the Chemical Laboratory was erected; and in 1892 Alexander Hall was presented as a suitable convocation hall for commencement exercises and for all large university functions, and the Isabella McCosh Infirmary was erected, named after Mrs. McCosh, whose tenderness and care for her husband's " boys " had endeared her to five college generations. The Brokaw Memorial Building, with its locker-rooms and swimming-tank, and the athletic field south of it, affording much needed playing-grounds for the rank and file of undergraduates not on the university teams, also date from 1892.

The winter of 1892-1893 deserves especial notice, because it witnessed the culmination of a movement which, more than any other, has made for the elevation and power of public opinion on the Princeton campus. By degrees an examination system had grown up whereby it was taken for granted that cheating would exist and

proctors in the shape of college police or members of the faculty kept watch during examinations to detect breaches of the common law of honesty. It must be confessed that frequently the ingenuity displayed in the preparation of surreptitious aids to reflection and their use under the very noses of the proctors was worthy of a better cause. But besides being fundamentally offensive proctorial supervision was often conducted in an irritating way, and it was this fact rather than any sudden outburst of high moral impulse that induced certain leaders of campus opinion, in January, 1893, just before midyear examinations, to agitate the abolition of cribbing and with it the abolition of proctorial oversight of examinations. A mass meeting was held; editorials in the *Princetonian* called attention to the honor system in vogue in certain Southern colleges and suggested the possibility of putting a similar system into operation at Princeton; and a petition was handed to the faculty. The latter body was by no means unanimous as to the efficacy, or indeed the feasibility, of such a system; but on January 18, 1893, the following resolution was adopted, and has remained on the statutes for twenty years, its purport becoming a vital part of Princeton's tradition and the University's administrative machinery:

"WHEREAS, it appears that there has been a strong and growing student sentiment against the practice of cheating in examinations, and further, that the students desire to have the examinations so conducted as to be put upon their honor as gentlemen; *Resolved,* That until due notice is given to the contrary there shall be no supervision of examinations, each student simply, at the end of his paper, subscribing the following statement:

I pledge my honor as a gentleman that during this examination I have neither given nor received assistance."

The first examination under this pledge was one given by Dean Murray to the senior class. Members of his course still recollect the curious shock which each one felt as the Dean handed out the question papers and then quietly remarked that the examination was to be conducted under the honor system and that he would therefore leave the room. From that date to this, no examination at Princeton has been proctored. The efficiency of the pledge is never questioned. The Student Honor Committee takes the position that not signing the pledge gives no exemption from liability and that the Princeton undergraduate is on his honor not because he has signed but whether he has signed or not. The rare violations of the pledge have been almost entirely confined to underclassmen but recently entered, or to men who were skeptical of the jealousy with which undergraduate opinion guards this Princeton institution. A case of violation, when detected, is tried by an undergraduate court, conviction being reported to the faculty by the dean of the College, who moves the dismissal of the culprit, his name, however, being withheld from the record.

Meanwhile the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the original charter on October 22, 1746, was fast approaching, and for over a year, under the general superintendence of Mr. Charles E. Green (1860), chairman of the committee in charge, and especially under the energetic and fertile direction of Professor Andrew F. West (1874), secretary of the committee, plans for celebrating the occasion were in process of making. In the words of the "Memorial Book of the Sesquicentennial Celebration," it was felt that the College might without loss of modesty, and indeed by way of bounden duty, commemorate her founders and their

noble aims, her sons and their achievements; that she might emphasize and avow those of her cherished ideals that had worthily survived; and that she might honor herself by entertaining distinguished guests. Moreover, trustees and faculty felt that the anniversary would be a fitting occasion to throw off old disabilities and acquire new powers, and that the time had come for a great expansion of activity. To this end they conceived that the celebration should be not only retrospective, but stimulating and broadly comprehensive, an earnest of future improvement, the inauguration of better opportunity and a more serious and reasoned application of Princeton's own well-tried methods in the pursuit of old and honored ends; and last of all it was agreed that no better occasion could be chosen on which to bring to realization the dream of Dr. McCosh and the ambition of his successor, and assume the title "Princeton University." Three objects were therefore paramount in the sesquicentennial preparations; the raising of a large endowment for undergraduate instruction and for development on the university side; an impressive academic festival to mark the anniversary of the founding; and last, the formal adoption of the university title. In due time acceptances of the invitation to be represented at the celebration were received from over a hundred universities, seminaries, and learned societies at home and abroad; and it proved to be the common opinion that never had so large and distinguished a body of scholars of international fame been gathered to honor such an occasion in America.

The festival proper was held on October 20, 21, and 22, but as preliminary to it six courses of public university lectures were delivered by foreign scholars during the week preceding, and were largely attended by men

of distinction throughout the country. The delegates from European universities were Professors Johannes Conrad of Halle, Wilhelm Dorpfeld, Secretary of the German Archæological Institute at Athens; Henri Moissan of Paris, Edward B. Poulton of Oxford, and the following, who delivered the lectures alluded to: Professors J. J. Thomson (now Sir Joseph Thomson) of Cambridge, Edward Dowden of Dublin, A. W. Hubrecht of Utrecht, Karl Brugman of Leipsic, Andrew Seth (now Pringle-Pattison) of Edinburgh, and Felix Klein of Göttingen.

On the morning of the twentieth the exercises were opened with a sermon by President Patton on "The University and Religion," which reflected the steadying touch of the past and sounded the keynote to the whole celebration. The afternoon was devoted to the welcoming and congratulatory addresses, President Eliot of Harvard University bringing the greetings of American universities and Professor Thomson of Cambridge those of European seats of learning. October 21 was alumni and student day. In the morning a Commemoration Poem on "The Builders" was read by the Reverend Henry van Dyke of the class of 1873, representing the Cliosophic Society, while Professor Woodrow Wilson of the class of 1879, for the American Whig Society, delivered an oration on "Princeton in the Nation's Service." That evening a torchlight procession more than a mile in length and composed of over one thousand undergraduates and fifteen hundred alumni, representing every class but two from 1839 to 1896, and headed by a company of twenty-five men from Yale, was reviewed from the steps of Nassau Hall by the President of the United States and Mrs. Cleveland. Singing by the massed alumni and undergraduates beneath the glow-

University Library and Back Campus

ing illuminations of Nassau Hall and the orange lanterns strung through the campus elms, closed the day.

The exercises of October 22, the anniversary day, were of especial dignity. On the platform of Alexander Hall sat the President of the United States, the Governor of New Jersey, and beside the distinguished delegation from the Old World a press of scholars and dignitaries representing all the leading universities of America. The supreme moment was reached as President Patton rose to announce the endowment and the assumption of the university title. Thanking the delegates and visitors for the honor they had done the College by their presence, he stated the amount of the gifts that had been received and named the high purposes to which they were to be directed, and after brief allusion to the further hopes and plans he entertained for the College, he came to the chief significance of the day and the object and inspiration of the entire event, ending his brief address by proclaiming " that from this moment what heretofore for one hundred and fifty years has been known as the College of New Jersey shall in all future time be known as Princeton University."

Princetonians who were present will never forget that moment. " Every word fell clear and was heard in the remotest corners of that densely crowded hall. One common tide of emotion swelled and rose in the hearts of the alumni of the old College of New Jersey while the President's utterance grew louder and his voice was thrilled with deeper feeling as he approached the climax, when on a sudden, with one magical phrase, he called to the floods and they obeyed. Men who loved Princeton as the home of their hearts, as the field of their ideals and their hopes, trembled with enthusiasm as the moment approached—the moment of moments; and when it came

they leaped to their feet spontaneously and a great shout went up to Heaven.''[1] Honorary degrees were then conferred, after which President Cleveland, who received a magnificent ovation, delivered an address of impressive dignity and noble inspiration, a plea for more earnest participation by educated men in the political affairs of the nation, which, coming as it did only a few days before the national election and at a crisis in the national history, was universally considered as a direct message to the American people.

The spring term of 1898 took on a martial tone on the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, which reminded older men a little of Civil War days. A military company formed of undergraduates was drilled by Colonel William Libbey (1877) of the faculty, but never saw service as a body. A few men left College to volunteer and a number entered service after commencement. The record subsequently prepared by Colonel Libbey and published by the University, entitled '' Princeton in the Spanish-American War '' (Princeton Press, 1899), shows that one hundred and sixty-seven Princetonians from classes ranging from 1856 to 1901 served their country at this time in various departments of the army and navy.

In Dr. McCosh's plan for the higher development of the College he had intended the graduate department to be the flowering of the undergraduate course, a department devoted to liberal arts and sciences as distinguished from technical and professional studies. We have seen that regulations for the higher degrees had been more definitely systematized and formulated in 1886, and also that in 1892 the conditions leading to the

[1] G. M. Harper, in "Memorial Book of the Sesquicentennial Celebration," p. 150.

master's and doctor's degrees were strengthened. In 1901 the graduate department was organized as a graduate school and Professor Andrew F. West (1874) was appointed dean. Professor West had become secretary of the faculty committee on the course of study at the time of Dr. McCosh's last revision in 1886, and had not only taken a leading part in each subsequent improvement of the curriculum and the standards of scholarship, but had also been prominent in faculty deliberations looking toward the organization of graduate work on an increasingly higher plane.

The Princeton attitude at this period toward higher degrees was stated in February, 1901, at a meeting of the Association of American Universities in substantially the following language: in regard to fellowships the aim was to give them to men sufficiently rounded in their general culture to be likely to prove of more than ordinary usefulness as teachers as well as original investigators; in regard to the doctorate in philosophy the prerequisite was a bachelor of arts degree from an institution whose academic course was equivalent to that of Princeton, with the further condition that the candidate should have studied a sufficient amount of Greek and should also offer as one of his subsidiary subjects a subject in philosophy, the conception of the doctorate in philosophy being that it implied in its possessor a certain amount of general culture which had continued beyond the time at which he was graduated with the bachelor of arts degree, and which was shown in the character of the special work he was pursuing for the higher degree as well as in the subsidiary subjects offered. It was believed that a far higher type of teacher and investigator would be developed by emphasizing the elements of education which make for general

culture, than by restricting the candidate's attention exclusively to his specialty. This theory of the higher degrees was in evident keeping with the general theory underlying the undergraduate curriculum.

Since 1901 the regulations governing admission to the graduate school have been unified, and any bachelor from other institutions maintaining standards similar to Princeton's in distinctively liberal studies is admitted on diploma. Admission does not necessarily imply admission to candidacy for higher degrees, but opens the way for mature students who may wish to carry on their studies without thought of taking further degrees.

The only degrees now given at Princeton for graduate study are those of master of arts and doctor of philosophy. The master's and doctor's degrees in science are no longer conferred, all successful candidates in arts or science receiving the same master's or doctor's degree. The master's degree may be conferred only on candidates who hold a bachelor's degree from Princeton or another approved college and have either devoted at least one year exclusively to resident graduate study in the University under the care of the faculty and have passed examination thereon, or have pursued a certain number of graduate courses in the University during four terms and passed examination thereon. The subjects which a candidate for the master's degree pursues must form a consistent and co-ordinated body of studies and are subject to the approval of the faculty committee on the graduate school.

The doctor's degree may be conferred on a bachelor of any approved college who has spent at least two years exclusively in study for the degree, though as a matter of fact in all but the rarest cases three years are necessary. One year must be spent in residence at Princeton. Can-

didates for the doctor's degree must designate the subject in which they propose to do their work, and before they come up for final examination are expected to have acquired a broad general knowledge of that subject and a comprehensive knowledge of some main division of it. Moreover, they must take at some time during the period of their graduate study a series of lectures on the general trend of philosophical and scientific thought, given, with assigned reading, by a member of the philosophical department. The usual presentation of a thesis and the passing of an examination, if the thesis is accepted, complete the present requirements.

Returning to 1901, coupled with the idea that the graduate school should be devoted to liberal rather than technical studies, was the further idea that the conditions surrounding the daily lives of graduate students at Princeton should be re-enforced and elevated, and the satisfaction of the double purpose pointed directly at a residential college where this body of advanced scholars would mingle freely in common daily association with one another, not leading solitary existences scattered over the town, but securing in their distinctively graduate life the enriching advantages of mutual incentives and community of intellectual interests coupled with an identity in mode of living, advantages obtainable in no other way so well as in residential intimacies like those so peculiarly characteristic of Princeton undergraduate life. President Patton, at the sesquicentennial, had called attention to the desire of the University that the endowment of a Graduate College might be secured and the spirit of such an institution had apparently inspired the eloquent peroration of Professor Wilson's oration on that occasion. The conception had no concrete parallel in America; and following the impetus received at the

sesquicentennial the records both of the faculty and of the board of trustees contain repeated evidence that its consummation had become from that time one of the accepted and foremost desires of the University. The endowment, however, could not be found.

Meanwhile the need of more buildings for undergraduate use was being slowly met, and in 1896 two dormitories, Upper and Lower Pyne, added a new and effective architectural note to Nassau Street; while in 1897 was commenced Blair Hall, whose massive entrance tower turns one's thought back to days of portcullis, moat, and drawbridge. Two years later Stafford Little continued the line of Blair, casting a wreath of low-roofed collegiate structure at the feet of Witherspoon Hall. In 1900 Dodge was added to Murray Hall and the religious interests of the University found in the twin buildings a campus home adequate to their growing and manifold enterprises. A sorely felt want was met when the new University library was completed in 1897 and adequate room for proper expansion in the mere working tools of research was supplied, while the Chancellor Green Library was transformed into a reading and working room.

The changes on the campus were but a reflection of what was going on in the personnel of the faculty. The closing years of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth saw the passing of many of the older men, the ancient landmarks, as it were, of academic Princeton: General Kargé, soldierly head of the department of modern languages, always picturesque and, when his old battle wound was disquieted within him, as unacademic a character as ever faced a college class; Dr. Shields, the philosopher whose gracious courtliness and broad learning made him a beautiful and rare ex-

ample of the scholar and the gentleman of the old school; Dr. Duffield, the mathematician, who as tutor in bygone years had been the first to break traditional ice and associate on terms of friendship with the graceless youths he was supposed to rule in Nassau Hall; Murray, the quiet, urbane Dean who so lived down the unpopularity of his office at its foundation that he became the best-loved officer of the College; Schanck, whose lectures in anatomy and experiments in chemistry were an age-long delight to thoughtless undergraduates; Orris and Cameron in Greek, the latter a painstaking and laborious servant of the College under three administrations; Young the astronomer, eminent as a teacher and investigator; and Packard in Latin, who bore the gentle air and calm serenity of quiet study—the passing of men like these meant the gradual fading of an older Princeton within the gates, just as the modernizing and improvement of the town without meant the vanishing there of ancient landmarks and characteristics, and the dawn of a new municipal life. A professor of the more modern type, whose premature death in 1889 was a severe loss to Princeton, was Alexander Johnston. He had been called in 1884 by Dr. McCosh to the chair of jurisprudence and political economy, and during the five years of his incumbency had made a name for himself in his field. His successor was Woodrow Wilson of the class of 1879.

The slow process of alumni organization which had been going on for some years found recognition in 1900 when the board of trustees took the necessary steps to admit to their number alumni representatives. By the plan thus sanctioned all graduates of not less than three years' standing are eligible to vote for an alumni trustee; and none but a graduate of ten years' standing is

eligible for election. There are five alumni trustees, each serving a term of five years, one being elected annually, and all being eligible for re-election.

In June, 1901, certain changes were made in the entrance requirements which it was believed would modify their rigidity and at the same time raise their standard without increasing the difficulty for a school of average equipment to prepare its pupils for Princeton. With these entrance changes certain readjustments were instituted in the course of study which will be more properly considered when we take up the history of the curriculum.

One result of the large growth in undergraduate numbers during President Patton's administration was the development of the upperclass club system. Eating clubs had existed at Princeton since the abandonment of the refectory in 1856, but none was self-perpetuating until the founding of Ivy as an upperclass club in 1879. It was followed in 1886 by the University Cottage Club, and during the years 1890-1901 eight others were formed. At present there are sixteen of these clubs with a membership of almost eighty-seven per cent. of the upperclassmen.

At commencement in 1902 President Patton resigned the office he had held for fourteen years, retaining the Stuart Professorship of ethics and the philosophy of religion, and shortly afterwards accepting the presidency of the Princeton Theological Seminary. Professor Woodrow Wilson was elected his successor. President Wilson's inaugural address in October, 1902, entitled "Princeton for the Nation's Service," was the corollary of his Sesquicentennial Oration. The latter had recalled the "memories with which Princeton men heartened themselves as they looked back a century and

a half to the founding of their college." The intention of the inaugural was to "assess our present purposes and powers and sketch the creed by which we shall be willing to live in the days to come." American university education, said the new president, had for two generations laid all its stress on specialization; and the world of learning had been transformed; no study had stood still. But meanwhile, the preliminary training of the specialists in the general foundations of knowledge had been neglected. A college should do more than merely give men skill and special knowledge to be bread-winning tools; it should also give them "elasticity of faculty and breadth of vision so that they shall have a surplus of mind to expand not upon their profession only for its liberalization and enlargement, but also upon the broader interests which lie about them." But the host of studies that a modern curriculum offers is confusing; how is it to be marshaled "within a common plan which shall not put the pupil out of breath? No doubt choice must be made and made by both faculty and student, only the former must make the chief choice and the latter the subordinate." This, as has already been pointed out, was the key to the next step in the revision of the Princeton curriculum, leading plainly to the introduction of a system of advised or assisted electives.

In such a place as Princeton "we have charge," declared the president, "not of men's fortunes but of their spirits. This is not the place in which to teach men their specific tasks except their tasks be those of scholarship and investigation; it is the place in which to teach them the relations which all tasks bear to the work of the world." In other words, his plea was against technical and narrow specialization and in favor of the

general liberal education by which Princeton should aim to make her graduates "not breadwinners merely, but citizens as well."

This was the traditional Princeton position and the inaugural, therefore, proposed nothing revolutionary or strange. No time was lost in getting at the course of study and rearranging it along consistent lines leading to the logical outcome of compulsory, coherent, and intelligent choice of electives by the student. This desideratum, which had been at least one of the intentions of the Patton revision, was now accomplished by grouping the teaching staff into divisions and component departments, and arranging the course of study within each department, requiring the student at the end of sophomore year to choose a department, the course therein being so controlled that he could not give his whole attention to a single subject. The divisions and their departments were: philosophy, containing the department of philosophy and that of history, politics, and economics, the latter since divided into two, history and politics, and economics and social institutions; the division of art and archæology, containing the department of art and archæology and since incorporated in the division of philosophy; the division of language and literature, comprising the departments of classics, English, modern languages; the division of mathematics and science, formed of the departments of mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, biology, and astronomy. The plan furthermore carried with it the institution of a new degree, that of bachelor of letters, planned for those students who sought a humanistic training without Greek. This made it possible for the bachelor of science course, which such men had hitherto entered, to become more truly characteristic of its name, and at the

same time gave men whose tastes were neither scientific nor classical an opportunity to secure the course of study best adapted to their needs.

The great step toward student self-government taken in the introduction of the honor system has been pointed out. A further step, though of less important effect, was the formation, in 1904, of what is known as the senior council, a later form of the defunct conference committee, an organization planned to furnish the highest reward of merit for conscientious effort in furthering the best interests of the University and its undergraduate organizations, and also to furnish from the senior class a representative body of men who by virtue of their diversity of interest and influence may be able fairly to represent the sanest phase of undergraduate opinion and to form a link between undergraduates, faculty, and trustees for the purpose of concerted effort when such effort is necessary and advisable. During the past eight years of its existence the aid of the senior council has been of service not only as a reflection of the current best opinion on the campus but has often helped to shape that opinion in the correction of abuses and in bringing students and faculty into closer touch.

The framing of the new curriculum of compulsorily coherent elections, was closely followed by a second and even more important innovation. It had been the matter of concern for some years that with the rapid expansion of the undergraduate body the most valuable feature of the American college, namely, the close personal relation of the professor to his students, was being lost to Princeton. Lecture rooms were crowded with men whom the lecturer scarcely knew by sight and still less by name, and no administrative machinery save the unsatisfactory one of examinations and written tests had been

devised to keep check on the work done by students in such courses. Especially was this true of the large and popular lecture courses. With this condition confronting them, thoughtful members of the faculty had cast about for a relief. The Oxford tutorial system had naturally suggested itself, and the possibility of grafting some such institution on to the American lecture system had been the subject of frequent and informal discussion for two or three years before the close of President Patton's administration. In the summer of 1902 Dean West, being sent abroad in the interests of the graduate college project, was also commissioned by the president to make a first-hand study of the Oxford tutorial method. Use of the information thus gathered was not made until the rearrangement of the course of study was completed. But in 1905 a new academic phrase puzzled the educational world when it learned that Princeton was about to put into operation what was called the "preceptorial system," since better named the "preceptorial method," of instruction, and had added to her faculty forty-seven new men with the rank of assistant professor and the special function of "preceptor." Of these forty-seven men added at a stroke to the voting members of the faculty, eleven were already instructors at Princeton, thirty-six were newcomers, nine were Princetonians, five were graduates of Yale, four of Michigan, and two each from Harvard, Williams, Dartmouth, and Iowa, the rest scattering among twenty other colleges. The appointments were made for five-year terms. In 1906 nine more assistant professors with preceptorial function were appointed. The absorption of so many and various men, who for the most part had no affiliation with or previous interest in Princeton, speaks well for the powers of assimilation that Princeton

possessed, and for the spirit of adaptability which the newcomers showed.

The preceptorial method was in the nature of an experiment; it was an endeavor to restore to a large body of undergraduates the advantages of personal relations with their teachers, which advantage only the small college was supposed now to afford. But it aimed also to do more than this. Its chief object as President Wilson wrote,[1] when describing the plan before its initiation, was " to give undergraduates their proper release from being schoolboys, to introduce them to the privilege of maturity and independence by putting them in the way of doing their own reading instead of getting up lectures or lessons." Lectures were by no means to be given up, but the major stress was to be laid on the reading a student would do for himself in the general field of his lectures. This reading would be assigned from week to week, and in conferences with his preceptors, who might be any members of the departments wherein the lectures fell, this reading would be discussed or a report on it would be read and criticised. These conferences were to be held for the most part in the preceptor's study, although many of them, as it turned out, were held in the specially provided " preceptorial rooms " in McCosh Hall; they were to be absolutely informal; they were not to be recitations; no marks were to be given; no absences charged; but from the conferences the preceptor was to form his opinion of the way in which his men were doing their reading and his opinion was to enter predominantly into the decision of final grades. The method was not to be one of coaching or tutoring for examinations, but an attempt to get undergraduates to read, mark, learn and, most important of all, inwardly to

[1] *The Independent*, August, 1905.

digest what they read. Obviously the success of such a method of instruction—or better, of study—depended, and must ever depend, on the caliber of the men conducting it.

The attitude of the undergraduate toward the new "preceptor guys" brought to Princeton "to make us wise," as the latest verse of the "Faculty Song" cheerfully expressed it, was altogether admirable, with a touch of resignation about it that was at times amusing. Princeton, it was lamentingly said, had become nothing but an educational institution. But the method made a hit, it was at once a success and has remained an integral and now indispensable feature of Princeton instruction. As a working instrument it still needs much adjustment and oversight, dependent as it is on both sides of a personal equation; but of its fundamental efficacy there is no longer any grave doubt. Its most serious limitation is its extreme costliness. In an eagerness to make the experiment, it was put into operation before its endowment was provided, and its maintenance has therefore remained the cause of large annual deficits which private generosity alone has enabled the University to meet.

The report of the dean of the graduate school on the proposed graduate college, printed in 1903, shortly after his return from Europe, with the imprimatur of the board of trustees and an introductory note by the president, constituted the first complete statement of the project that had appeared. It called for three essentials, a body of well-endowed professorships as the one true foundation on which the graduate college should be built, a system of fellowships to secure a nucleus of picked students for such professors, and finally buildings of proper dignity and comfort for the material

home in which this community of scholars should dwell.[1] The plan outlined in this report was the only one ever proposed; it was uniformly referred to with indorsement and support by the president and trustees in the official documents of the University for the next six years. For the time being, since funds were lacking wherewith to proceed to the full scale proposed, an experimental graduate college was begun in 1905 when "Merwick," a substantial private residence in Princeton, was secured for the housing of at least a dozen graduate students, with accommodation for twice that number at table. Though comparatively small and therefore wholly insufficient for even those students already in the graduate school, nevertheless this house was, in the language of President Wilson's annual report for 1905, at least "a sure prophecy of the Graduate College for which we so eagerly hope as the crowning distinction of Princeton's later development as a University."

"Merwick" was indeed a prophecy, for three months of 1905 had hardly elapsed when the death of Mrs. Josephine Thomson Swann, of Princeton, brought to the University in which she had been interested for more than half a century a bequest of over three hundred thousand dollars for the project, to be expended in a residential hall to be known as Thomson College. This was the first actual step toward the materiality of which the idea had been in the air for a decade. It seemed, therefore, that some definite progress were now in sight; and when in October Dean West received a call to the presidency of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, it was intimated to him by a resolution[2] of the board

[1] "The Proposed Graduate College of Princeton University," Princeton, 1903, p. 9.

[2] October 20, 1906.

of trustees that his services were being counted on to "put into operation the Graduate College which he conceived and for which the Board has planned," and accordingly the call was declined.

Meanwhile through the agency of a generous bequest from the descendants of Nathaniel FitzRandolph, donor of the plot on which Nassau Hall was erected, the old prayer-hall has been remodeled as a council chamber for the meetings of the University Faculty. At its formal opening in November of this year (1906), Ex-President Cleveland, who had for five years past been an active trustee of the University, made an address from which the following passage will illustrate the mood of the occasion, and at the same time show how earnestly Mr. Cleveland had entered into the spirit of the university that had adopted him:

"I almost fear to speak here lest I may by some ill-selected word or ill-considered thought disturb the spell created by the associations of this place. I am profoundly impressed by the thought that the spirit which built our nation and which in revolutionary days was here more than a visitant has not altogether departed, and that the consecration of this room by the apostles of liberty and free government has not faded away. This spirit and this consecration span the chasm of more than a century of years and by mysterious guidance make easy the journey of our thought to the time when Washington and other immortals within these walls watched and nurtured the promise of a new Republic. To recall these things is to remember that we who have gathered in Nassau Hall to-day hold in trust her precious traditions and her heritage of splendid patriotism. . . . From these conditions arises an inescapable duty. This room had been changed to

better suit the use of the University; but its spirit and atmosphere, derived from its distinguished past, cannot be changed without unfaithfulness. The teachers that meet in this room for counsel may adopt improved methods of education; but they cannot without recreancy change the current or purpose of Princeton's teaching."

The University stepped from grave to gay on the next occasion of its gathering together, when less than a month later (December 5, 1906) a very different scene took place, and Alexander Hall was packed to the roof with a cheering mass of undergraduates to witness the formalities connected with the opening of Lake Carnegie, whose slow evolution from a dismal swamp parted by a sluggish stream they had been impatiently watching for the past two or three years. No gift to Princeton since the Bonner-Marquand Gymnasium had evoked so much student enthusiasm, and the cheers and singing that welcomed the donor when he appeared on the platform to present the deeds were emphatic in their approval.

Later in the same month the president submitted to the board of trustees a statement in regard to the intellectual and social reorganization of the University, at which he had hinted a year earlier in an address before an alumni association; and a committee, of which he was chairman, was appointed to consider his statement and to report thereon. In June, 1907, the report was presented, and on its publication in the commencement number of the *Alumni Weekly* became the one absorbing topic of discussion among Princetonians during the summer and autumn. The scheme for "social coordination" contained in this report was commonly known as the "quad plan" and contemplated the group-

ing of the dormitories of the University, with such additional buildings as might be necessary, into a number of units or quadrangles. In these "quads," each consisting of its own dormitories, dining halls, and common rooms, the four undergraduate classes and also members of the faculty were to reside and take their meals, the undergraduates being assigned to their "quads" by a faculty officer or committee. In a memorandum issued to the presidents of the upper-class clubs, organizations vitally concerned in the plan since it meant either their absorption or their extinction, although declared not to be aimed at them, the president outlined the objects of the plan as follows:[1]

"First, to place unmarried members of the faculty in residence in the quads in order to bring them into close, habitual, natural association with the undergraduates, and so intimately tie the intellectual and social life of the place into one another; second, to associate the four classes in a genuinely organic manner and make of the University a real social body, to the exclusion of cliques and separate class social organizations; third, to give the University the kind of common consciousness which apparently comes from the closer sorts of social contact to be had only outside the classroom, and most easily to be got about a common table, and in the contacts of a common life." The administrative details, said the president, had been "in large part thought out," but they were not issued, as he wished them to be subject to change in his own mind. The general discussion that took place in alumni circles, in the press, and even in Princeton itself, was therefore largely in the dark; but it was admitted by the president that the project would require a capital of at least two millions of dollars for

[1] *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, June 12, 1907.

dining halls and common rooms, no part of which sum was as yet forthcoming.[1]

Meanwhile, the financial obligations incurred by the installation of the preceptorial method were still depending on private subscriptions for their satisfaction, and the endowment of the long-standing graduate college project remained unprovided for.

At the October (1907) meeting of the board the "quad" plan was withdrawn and the special committee on "social co-ordination" was discharged.

In the spring of 1908 the site of Thomson College, the residential hall for graduates as provided for by the will of Mrs. Swann, was selected in the grounds of Prospect, the official residence of the president of the University. It was pretty generally conceded that this choice was not an especially happy one, since it would necessitate the re-location of Prospect itself, would tend to crowd that quarter of the campus, and probably hamper expansion. Nevertheless, no better site seemed just then to be available. The bequest was obviously quite inadequate to carry out the full plans of the graduate college, and furthermore provided no endowment for the building it proposed. No steps were taken, therefore, to give its terms immediate effect.

At this time the "Committee of Fifty," a special committee of alumni appointed in 1904 to collect funds to meet the heavy burden of the preceptorial method, had suggested that steps be taken looking toward a more effective organization and toward a broader activity than merely that of a collecting agency. During the four years of its existence the committee had paid off an annual deficit averaging one hundred and twenty

[1] Letter to A. C. Imbrie, *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, Sept. 25, 1907.

thousand dollars and had secured pledges or paid up gifts of over six hundred thousand dollars. With the approval of the board of trustees it was reorganized in the spring of 1909 as the " Graduate Council " with a charter and by-laws, and sub-committees to assume its financial labor and to help to keep it in close touch with the alumni, with the undergraduates, with the preparatory schools and with the public. The council subsequently received the grant of direct approach to the board of trustees.

To sum up the progress made during the seven years from 1902 to 1909, the internal discipline and rules of administration had been stiffened, a carefully devised course of study based on the Princeton theory of practically required underclass years followed by two years of a coherent and assisted elective system had been installed, an effective method of instruction had been introduced, the teaching force had been greatly strengthened, the library equipment had been increased, honors courses had been instituted in mathematics, physics, and the classical humanities, McCosh Hall containing recitation and lecture rooms had been erected, as well as the great gymnasium and the well-appointed laboratories in natural and physical sciences, Guyot Hall, and Palmer Laboratory, the Faculty Room had been remodeled and given a dignity worthy of the historic associations of the apartment, while Holder, Patton, Blair extension, the Seventy-Nine and Seventy-Seven dormitories had been erected, Lake Carnegie had been constructed, and acquisitions to the campus had extended it from two hundred and twenty acres to six hundred. During this period of feverish activity, over four and a quarter millions had been received by the University, of which sum, roughly speaking, only $2,400,000 had

gone into endowment, including dormitories; buildings not producing income had cost $1,700,000, additional campus $100,000, and laboratory equipment $80,000. Through the graduate council the alumni were contributing annually approximately $100,000 for current expenses, or nearly what the preceptorial method was costing. The non-productive buildings required $40,000 a year for maintenance, and the upkeep of the campus was an increasing expense. The faculty had grown from one hundred and eight in 1902 to one hundred and sixty-nine in 1909, most of the growth occurring in one year, while the student body during the same period had fallen off from one thousand three hundred and eighty-three in 1902 to one thousand three hundred and fourteen in 1909.

In May, 1909, Mr. William Cooper Procter, a graduate of the class of 1883, made an offer to the University of five hundred thousand dollars for the graduate college on condition that an equal amount should be raised within a year and that some other site than Prospect be selected which would be mutually agreeable. Not more than two hundred thousand dollars of the Procter gift was to be expended in buildings, the balance being designed for endowment of fellowships. This offer being materially related to the Thomson College bequest, the board of trustees in October, 1909, rescinded its action of April, 1908, and voted in favor of a site on the edge of the university golf links. Sharp differences of opinion, however, arose as to this location, and before long as to the whole graduate college idea, and the reception of Mr. Procter's offer not having been such as, in his opinion, to promise the usefulness he had hoped to secure, more than eight months having now elapsed since the offer was made without a

decision being reached, he withdrew it in February, 1910. A second period of uncertainty and heated discussion ensued. This continued for fully three months and was brought to an abrupt close only by the death in May, 1910, of Mr. Isaac Chauncey Wyman of the class of 1848, and the publication of the will he had drawn in July, 1909. In this document he left the bulk of his estate, valued at over two million dollars, in trust for the purposes of the graduate college project, outlined in Dean West's report of 1903. A little later Mr. Procter was induced to renew his offer, and at a special meeting early in June, 1910, the president, formally announcing to the board of trustees the Wyman bequest and also the Procter renewal, congratulated the board on a combination of circumstances which gave "so bright a promise of a successful and harmonious development of the University" along lines which, as he said, would "command our common enthusiasm."

Early in that summer (1910) President Wilson publicly signified his willingness to accept the Democratic nomination for governor of New Jersey, and being nominated in September he resigned the presidency of the University. Winning at the polls he served as governor of the State until his election to the presidency of the United States in November, 1912. The Honorable John A. Stewart, Senior Trustee, was appointed president pro tempore and held this office until January, 1912, assisted in the performance of its academic duties by the dean of the faculty, Professor Henry Burchard Fine (1880).

In May, 1911, the erection of the graduate college was begun on the golf links, a part of the battlefield where Mr. Wyman's father as a mere lad had fought under Washington. By a happy decision of the trustees of

Graduate College and Cleveland Tower

the Cleveland Monument Association, for which Princeton must ever be grateful, the Cleveland Tower, a national memorial to the late Ex-President of the United States, who had been chairman of the trustees' committee on the graduate school and had ever been a warm supporter of the graduate college project, was made the crowning feature of the group of buildings, a superb landmark visible for miles in every direction, and one which the architectural development of that portion of the campus in future years will only enhance.

The buildings of the Graduate College are the residential buildings of the graduate school, and aim to provide for graduate students a suitable place of residence, where they may have the advantages accruing from a common life in scholarly surroundings. In order that this advantage may be open generally the fees of residence have been placed at a minimum cost, and it is, therefore, possible for a student to reside at the Graduate College for less than it would ordinarily cost him were he to take rooms in the town and make his own arrangements for board. The courses offered in the graduate school are conducted in the laboratories, libraries, seminaries, museums, and research rooms of the University, the graduate student thus using the same buildings for scholastic purposes as the undergraduate. Beside the college fellowships open to members of the senior class in college and the graduate scholarships open to graduates, there are approximately forty-five university fellowships, the number varying slightly from year to year.

In January, 1912, John Grier Hibben of the class of 1882, Stuart Professor of logic in the University, was elected president and was inaugurated on the steps of Nassau Hall in May. The university was honored on

this occasion by the presence of President Taft and Chief Justice White.

Here the history of Princeton University, so far as the present record is concerned, should end. But mention may properly be made of two or three circumstances of great moment which have already distinguished the present administration. The institution of an alternative method of entrance examination, certain desirable readjustments and important improvements in the course of study, the general institution of honors courses, all of which will be described in greater detail in the next chapter, and the steady growth of the undergraduate body have marked the new administration on the college side. The formal dedication of the Graduate College has given fresh stimulus and increase of numbers to the university side. And large bequests have been made to the University which in time will help to lighten its financial burden and, it is hoped, lead the way to important expansions.

The title of the corporation as now constituted is the Trustees of Princeton University. The board of trustees is composed of the governor of New Jersey and the president of the University during their respective terms of office, twenty-five life trustees and five alumni trustees. Twelve of the entire board must be inhabitants of New Jersey. There is no denominational or other restriction placed on the constitution of the board, by the charter or by the by-laws of the board. Three oaths are required of each trustee on assuming office, first, to perform the duties of the office faithfully and impartially, second, to support the Constitution of the United States, and third, to bear allegiance to the State in which he resides. Vacancies among the life trustees are filled by

ballot of the board; vacancies among the alumni trustees are filled by election by the alumni. Except in term of office and method of election there is no distinction between the life and the alumni trustees. Nine of the trustees, if the governor of the State, the president of the University, or the senior trustee be one of the number, form a quorum. In the absence of the governor, the president and the senior trustee, thirteen members constitute a quorum.

The officers of the corporation are the president of the board (i.e., the governor), the president of the university (who in absence of the governor is *ex-officio* president of the board), the dean of the faculty, the dean of the graduate school, the dean of the departments of science, the dean of the college, the treasurer, the secretary of the university, the secretary of business administration, the librarian, the registrar, and such other officers as the board may appoint. With the exception of the president, these officers are elected by ballot by the board and continue in office during the board's pleasure; the president is elected by ballot by the board and retains office until his resignation or death.

Besides presiding at faculty meetings and on all public occasions, and representing the University before the public, the president is charged with the general oversight of the interests of the University, has special oversight of the various departments of instruction in the University, and signs all diplomas and all obligations and contracts entered into by the board.

The dean of the faculty is charged with the administrative oversight, under the president, of the application and enforcement of the rules and standards of scholarship in the University. In the absence of the president and whenever there is a vacancy in the presidency he

performs the duties of the president, including that of presiding at meetings of the faculty.

The dean of the graduate school is *ex officio* chairman of the faculty committee on the graduate school and is the direct channel of communication between that committee and the board. He is the responsible administrative officer of the graduate school. Graduate instruction, the admission of students to the school, and in general the work leading to the higher degrees is under the supervision of the faculty committee on the graduate school, of which the dean is chairman, and this committee makes all recommendations for fellowships and graduate scholarships, except where the terms of endowment provide otherwise.

The dean of the departments of science has administrative oversight of these departments and the development and conduct of all work leading to the higher degrees in applied science.

The dean of the college has charge of the discipline of the University, including attendance on university exercises and all matters of personal conduct.

The secretary of the University is secretary of the board, custodian of the charter and records of the University, and has charge of the general correspondence of the University and the publication and distribution of official documents.

The secretary of business administration is the resident executive of the trustees' committee on grounds and buildings, and as such has charge of the real estate and personal property of the University except funds and securities. He is responsible for the operation of the University Dining Halls, for the sanitation of the University, and all heat, light, and power service, for the administration of the infirmary, for the purchase of

all supplies, for the auditing of all bills for labor and supplies, and for the employes of the University. He co-operates with the president in the oversight of all the business interests of the University.

The voting members of the faculty are the president, the deans, the professors and assistant professors. Instructors and assistants are nominated by the departments and appointed by the president. Through an arrangement instituted by President Hibben, nominations of professors and assistant professors are made by the president to the board of trustees after formal recommendation by the full professors of the departments most concerned. In cases of appointments outside of the existing departments nominations to the board are made by the president on the formal recommendation of a committee of full professors appointed by the president from departments most closely allied to the work of the proposed appointee. In case the president disapproves of a nomination his nomination is placed before the board with that of the committee.

The faculty has approach to the board through the president and also by means of a standing committee of conference which meets a standing committee of the board four times a year, that is, before each stated meeting of the board.

The business of the faculty is in the hands of fourteen standing committees, of which those on course of study, on entrance, on discipline, on examinations and standing, on graduate school, on outdoor sports, on non-athletic organizations are typical. The records of the faculty are kept by its clerk, who is elected by the faculty and serves during its pleasure.

The departments of the University are autonomous, although the so-called " head " or administrative chair-

man of each department is appointed by the president. Each department arranges its own courses and apportions its work, but every new undergraduate course offered must be recommended by the faculty committee on course of study, and every graduate course must be recommended by the faculty committee on the graduate school.

The publications of the University are produced by the Princeton University Press, whose building and equipment were the gift of Mr. Charles Scribner (1875). In the language of its charter, obtained under the act providing for " associations not for pecuniary profit," the University Press is organized to maintain in the interests of the University a printing and publishing plant for the promotion of education and scholarship and to serve the University by manufacturing and distributing its publications. Besides the official documents of the University regularly printed here, the Press has already issued a number of volumes of general intellectual and scholarly interest, of which perhaps the annual Stafford Little Lectures may be taken as one type, and the Princeton Monographs in Art and Archæology as another.

VIII

HISTORY OF THE CURRICULUM AND ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

Entrance Requirements of 1748. Requirements of 1819. Curriculum Under President Burr. President Witherspoon's Improvements. Curriculum of 1802 and 1819. Modern Languages. Extra-curriculum Lectures. Curriculum Under President Maclean. President McCosh's Elective Plan. School of Science. Civil Engineering. The Course of Study and Entrance Requirements in 1887. Revision Under President Patton. New Course of Study Under President Wilson. Standardization of Requirements Under President Hibben. The Alternative Method of Entrance. The Final Special Honors Plan.

The history of the Princeton curriculum and entrance requirements is a history of singleness of principle and unity of practice. On the whole it is the story of slow, steady progress toward one definite goal—the formation of a curriculum which shall contain the essentials of a balanced, coherent, and logical grouping of liberal studies. Though marked in the main by a strong conservative tendency, which in spite of criticism has refused to yield to the lure of ephemeral theories or utilitarian ends, this development has not ignored abiding values wrought out by experience elsewhere, nor has it been too timid to take forward and untried steps when these were sure of their ultimate direction. The latest expression of the Princeton theory is found in the inaugural address of President Hibben on the "Essentials of Liberal Education."[1]

It may be well to state at the outset, and by way of summary, the three basal convictions that have emerged from the long process through which the Princeton cur-

[1] *Princeton University Official Register*, May, 1912.

riculum for the bachelor degrees has been evolved. These convictions are: first, that certain fundamental and disciplinary studies are essential to a liberal education, whether the degree in view be one in arts, one in science, or one in letters, and that these studies are Latin, mathematics, philosophy, physical science; second, that these studies being fundamental are to be required of all candidates for a bachelor's degree, and being disciplinary are to be pursued early in the college course, after which their continuance is optional with the student; third, that the integrity of the historic bachelor of arts degree, postulating the study of both Greek and Latin, is to be preserved. If there be no such thing as essentials in liberal education, then the Princeton theory falls to the ground. But whether one accepts or rejects the validity of the convictions named, at least their presence at the heart of the modern Princeton course of study renders impossible any ambiguity in the meaning of a Princeton bachelor degree.

The entrance requirements have followed the stability of the curriculum. Indeed, after they were once clearly established early in the nineteenth century they showed but little change until Dr. McCosh compelled a re-adjustment. The terms of admission to-day are practically those of yesterday in so far as they demand a knowledge of essentials, the contrast and advance lying in the method of administration and in the raising of the standard imposed. The history of the entrance requirements until Dr. McCosh's time is thus a matter of but few words.

Unless President Dickinson meant to admit to college anyone who, in the comfortable phrase of the day, was "hopefully pious," he must have had standards of one sort or another in his mind whereby to judge of the

qualifications of candidates under the charter of 1746; yet it is extremely doubtful that in his brief administration he ever formulated them. The announcement in the newspapers that the College of New Jersey would open at Elizabeth Town in May, 1747, contained the further statement that "all persons suitably qualified" might at that time and place be "admitted to an academic education," a statement repeated a few months later in the detailed description of the charter, in which it is said that "all who are qualified for it may be immediately admitted to an academic education and to such class and station in the college as they are found upon examination to deserve." But no record of the requirements has been preserved. There can be little doubt, however, that the definite entrance requirements laid down in November, 1748, by President Burr in the "Laws and Customs" authorized by the board of trustees after the first commencement, differed but slightly, if at all, from those of President Dickinson. The first chapter of Burr's "Laws" is entitled "Of Admission" and reads:

"None may expect to be admitted into the College but such as being examined by the President and Tutors,[1] shall be found able to render Virgil and Tully's

[1] This oral method of entrance examination lasted until well past the middle of the nineteenth century, although college examinations were written. It consisted of a brief quiz by the president usually, assisted sometimes by his colleagues, the candidate in the latter case tracking these gentlemen to their homes. A letter in the University library written in 1761 by President Finley to Dr. Eliezer Wheelock of Dartmouth shows the informality of the whole proceeding: "I examined your Son, & tho' he was less prepared than Ye Rest of his Class, yet Considering his Age, & Good Sense, I concluded he wou'd make a pretty Good Figure in it, after some Time, Shou'd God grant him Health to Study: & so admitted him. And I can honestly say yt his being your Son had no small Influence on me." Other letters show that not infrequently it happened in the eighteenth and early in the

Orations into English, and to turn English into true grammatical Latin, and so well acquainted with Greek as to render any part of the four Evangelists in that language, into Latin or English, and to give the grammatical construction of the Words."

Arithmetic to the rule of three was added to the requirements in 1760 by President Davies, but for the next sixty years in spite of improvements in the curriculum introduced by Witherspoon and Smith, the only change made in the terms of admission concerned the substitution of Sallust and Cæsar for Cicero, and the addition of a few more pages of arithmetic. The superfluous translating from the Gospels into Latin was dropped before the close of Witherspoon's administration, but is scarcely a change worthy the name, since Latin composition, euphoniously called the "turning of English into true grammatical Latin," was retained in the requirement of Mair's "Introduction to the Making of Latin," a book that found a perennial home at Prince-

nineteenth century that, amid the confusion of term opening, examination in part of the requirements was postponed, waived, or forgotten. John William Walker entering the junior class in 1805 reported to President Smith, who in turn introduced him to Professors Maclean and Hunter, and he would have been examined on the spot "had not business and company deprived the faculty of time." Subsequently the examination was set at a date of his own choosing. Another boy trying to enter the sophomore class at this date could make no arrangement whatsoever for examination because the "avocations of some of the Faculty call them from home at this moment." Once past the entrance ordeal, the eighteenth century student was given a copy of the College laws to transcribe, which copy being countersigned by the president was his certificate of matriculation as well as his presumptive vademecum "to be kept by him whilst he continue a member of said College, as the Rule of his behavior." The nineteenth century student was required to purchase a printed copy of the laws, which being countersigned by the clerk of the faculty was his certificate. Besides matriculating, the new student was required until 1889 to report in person to the president on arrival at College.

ton until its replacement in 1870 by the equally celebrated "Latin Prose Composition" of Dr. Arnold. From 1794 to 1816, for example, the Princeton requirements were: Arithmetic to the "double rule of three," the Greek Gospels with the "grammatical analysis of the words," Sallust, Cæsar, Virgil, and Mair's "Introduction." At the beginning of the nineteenth century Harvard, Yale, Brown, and Williams all required Cicero instead of Cæsar and Sallust; Columbia asked for both Cæsar and Cicero; but excepting these slight differences Princeton's requirements were identical with those of her sister colleges.

In 1819, however, with bold disregard for the condition of contemporary secondary education, the trustees came forward with a genuine attempt to raise the standard of entrance. Ovid's "Metamorphoses," Lucian, and three books of Xenophon's "Cyropedia" were added to the list of classical works to be read; geography and English grammar made their first appearance; and Latin and Greek grammar and prosody, apart from the "grammatical analysis of the words," were definitely called for. The requirement of English grammar at Princeton is the earliest appearance of that subject in American college entrance lists; and in demanding geography Princeton was antedated only by Harvard.[1]

That this array was too formidable in 1819 is clearly shown by the fact that for several years thereafter many of the entrance subjects were repeated in the freshman course. Even the best of the academies—Phillips Exeter for example—did not read any of the three authors named, as a part of their regular curriculum, although

[1] Cf. E. C. Broome, "Historical and Critical Discussion of College Admission Requirements." Columbia University, 1902, pp. 42, 43.

they proceeded further in mathematics; and it was not to be expected that grammar schools and private schools could meet the new requirements satisfactorily. The 1819 list of subjects, with the exception of Ovid and Lucian, dropped in 1830, and elementary algebra imposed in 1848 and thereafter, remained the entrance requirements for Princeton until Dr. McCosh's time fifty years later. Xenophon was cast out in 1830, but after an absence of twenty-five years was restored to grace with the added virtue of two books instead of one. Princeton seems to have been paralyzed by her boldness of 1819 into inability to tinker any further with the entrance problem.

The course of study under the early conditions shows more progress. What the curriculum under Dickinson was, or would have been had he lived to develop it, we do not know. Nor is there any official statement of the course of study under Burr, although he doubtless drew up a systematic plan. Under both Dickinson and Burr the curriculum was in all probability patterned closely on the Yale curriculum. A letter of 1749 or 1750 written by a trustee describing the College—the signature and exact date are wanting—says that students in the first year study the learned languages and then "they proceed to the liberal arts and sciences"; one day a week is devoted to theological study, when they recite, and the President or a tutor "expounds upon some approved system of divinity." This refers primarily to students intending to enter the ministry; but nothing is said about the course pursued by those not looking forward to ordination. From the letters of Joseph Shippen, of the class of 1753, the curriculum he pursued can be guessed fairly completely. As a freshman he was reciting in Xenophon, Watts' ontology, Cicero and

Hebrew grammar; once a week he disputed " after the syllogistic method, and now and then we learn geography." Later on in the year he asks for Gordon's " Geographical Grammar," Watts' " Astronomy," and " Book of Logic," and says he will soon take up Horace, but his time is so filled up in studying Virgil, Greek testament, and rhetoric, with an occasional lesson " on the Globes " that he has no leisure to look over any French or algebra or any English book for his " general improvement." In the sophomore year he was studying rhetoric, ontology and elementary mathematics. During the winter of 1750-1751 he was reading Homer, and he wished a copy of Martin's " Natural Philosophy," then used by the senior class. In the spring following, Mr. Burr arranged a special course of twelve lectures on natural philosophy by Mr. Lewis Evans, a course which had been given with great success in New York and Philadelphia, and for which Mr. Burr hired the apparatus from Mr. James David Dove of Philadelphia. Shippen was specially interested in the electrical experiments exhibiting as they did a " newly discovered element (I mean the Electrical Fluid)," and Mr. Evans having a globe to spare which he gave to the young student, the latter constructed a small electrical machine for his own experimentation. President Burr likewise purchased an electrical machine for classroom use. In the winter of 1751-1752 as a junior Shippen was reading moral philosophy and taking a special extra-curriculum course from Mr. Burr in astronomy, in calculating eclipses, and in the theory of navigation. His letters written in senior year make no comment on his studies, but the memorandum book of his college contemporary, Samuel Livermore of 1752, records that on graduation the latter sustained examination in Hebrew,

Greek testament, Homer, Cicero, Horace, logic, geography, astronomy, natural philosophy, ontology, ethics, and rhetoric, and it is unlikely that Shippen's final examination was very different. The absence of any mathematics from this list is possibly due to forgetfulness on the part of the author. Some of the subjects evidently formed part of the "review of studies," which was long a feature of the senior course of study, rendering the final examination in senior year a comprehensive one in the most technical sense of the word. Mr. Burr's account book shows that several of his students were studying French at a French school.

The earliest definite official statement of the curriculum is contained in Blair's "Account" published in 1764. From this document it appears that aside from the exercises in declamation, which took place five nights of the week after supper, freshman year was spent entirely in the classics,—Horace, Cicero, the Greek testament, Lucian and Xenophon. In the sophomore year the classics were continued with Homer and Longinus as the principal authors, while a beginning was made in the sciences and philosophy by means of courses in mathematics, logic, geography, and rhetoric, the latter supplying the theory of which the regular declamations in the prayer-hall were the practice. In junior year the classics were temporarily laid aside, mathematics was continued, while natural philosophy, moral philosophy, metaphysics, and history were commenced, with weekly public declamations and disputations. Prospective divinity students, moreover, began Hebrew. Senior year was principally one of review and composition. On the monthly oration day seniors delivered original harangues; junior subjects were com-

pleted; the classics were re-read and the sciences hastily re-surveyed; a comprehensive examination followed, and the collegian faced the world. And such the curriculum remained under Davies and Finley.

On Dr. Witherspoon's accession changes began to take place. After two years of his administration the board gave him full powers " as to the methods of education " to be pursued in the College. Times had changed. When Jonathan Edwards wished to introduce new studies into even the grammar school curriculum he had to gain the consent of the trustees, having made the mistake of admitting that he knew but little about the business. But Dr. Witherspoon was permitted to do as he thought best, and he did not even report to the board any changes he effected. Annual catalogues prior to 1794 are not known, if they ever existed; and the development of the curriculum in Witherspoon's time must, therefore, be sought in secondary sources and by comparing the statement in Blair's " Account " of 1764 with that in Witherspoon's " Address to the Inhabitants of Jamaica " in 1772, and in the " Laws " of 1794.

Freshman year remained entirely elementary and classical, while to sophomore year with its advanced classics, its elementary mathematics, and its complete course in geography " with the use of globes," Dr. Witherspoon added English grammar and composition, beginning here the strong emphasis he laid on the study of English expression.

Junior year was devoted chiefly to science—to natural philosophy with the aid of new apparatus, and to advanced mathematics (algebra, geometry, trigonometry, practical geometry, and conic sections, the last four being studied after 1787 from the manuscript lectures of Professor Minto). The continuation of English grammar

and the president's lectures on history and on "Eloquence," which included rhetoric, advanced composition, criticism and style, completed the junior curriculum—a curriculum that was distinctly stronger and more cultural than that previously offered. In the "Address" of 1772 Dr. Witherspoon says that juniors listened to his lectures on history, which, with those on "Eloquence," he repeated to the seniors, so that each class heard them twice. In the "Laws" of 1794, history, however, is not listed as a junior, but as a senior subject.

Dr. Witherspoon's chief improvements in the curriculum fell in senior year, and here again it was more in the maturer method that he employed in his lectures, as for example his constant bibliographical references, rather than in any multiplicity of new subjects that the improvements are to be found. In addition to the lectures on history and on "Eloquence" which they had already heard as juniors, and besides reviewing the classics and completing logic and natural philosophy, seniors listened to the president on ethics, politics, and government, the two latter subjects making their first appearance at Princeton, and constituting, with the ethics, his lectures on moral philosophy. The lectures on politics and government were distinct innovations, and contributed a freshness and timeliness to the upperclass course that did not fail to bear fruit. Public speaking was carried on to an even greater degree under Witherspoon than under his predecessors, besides being approached in a more intelligent manner, and being made the subject of formal study by his upperclassmen. He instituted a number of prizes for public speaking both in the grammar school and in College, and it was only in vacation that the prayer-hall did not resound

with the youthful oratory that sent its echoes drifting down the long entries. There is plenty of contemporary evidence that Witherspoon's insistence on the serious study of written and spoken English was plainly discernible in the public style of his graduates. In commenting on the Witherspoon curriculum Ashbel Green of 1783 makes the interesting statement that after the Revolutionary War the junior and senior classes read no classics, their time being occupied with mathematics, philosophy (natural and moral), belles lettres, criticism, composition, and eloquence. In his own class there was one man, he declares, who did not even know the Greek alphabet, and the Latin salutatory, written by the president, a common enough procedure, was assigned to a man who came to him (Green) to have it translated. However this may have been in the period just after the Revolution, it was hardly so in 1794, for the curriculum of that date published in the "Laws" shows that while no classics were prescribed in junior year, nevertheless, in senior year there was at least a general review of them which no student could possibly have made without a preliminary knowledge of the two languages involved, unless the review were conducted solely from the æsthetic point of view by means of translations. Even the religious teaching in College was given a classical turn, for in 1793 the catechism which freshmen were required to study on Sundays was printed in Latin, Presbyterians absorbing to the best of their ability the "Catechismus Minor recensitus in usum Tyronum Collegii Neo-Cæsariensis," while Episcopalians learned their duty to God and man from the "Catechismus Articulique Religionis. . . . recensitus in usum Tyronum Collegii Neo-Cæsariensis," both printed by Jane Aitkin at Philadelphia.

It will have been noticed that, although arithmetic was an entrance requirement, mathematics is not found in Witherspoon's curriculum until sophomore year. Arithmetic in the higher branches was introduced into the freshman schedule during the next decade and as late as 1822 formed the only mathematical obstacle that a freshman encountered.

The principle of the Witherspoon curriculum was preserved for half a century after his death, viz., making freshman year chiefly classical, arithmetic, geography, English grammar and composition being the only exceptions; introducing in sophomore year history and algebra, but with the same major emphasis on the classics; devoting junior year chiefly to mathematical sciences with continuation of the classics; and giving senior year over to philosophical and literary courses and the completion of science, not forgetting the classics and "a general review." It was not long, however, before the sciences laid siege to the classics, although President Green checked their advance, and Carnahan and Maclean in their turn kept up the defenses. The need of a scientific course with a minimum of classics, or none at all, was glaring for years before Dr. McCosh installed one, and the Princeton precedent for such a course was lying at hand in the records of the College. But the authorities in the early and middle nineteenth century seem to have willfully turned their backs on the object-lesson President Smith had long ago bequeathed them in the special scientific course he had organized with the elder Maclean; and by so doing they threw away an opportunity for leadership that was never renewed. An explanation of their action has already been suggested. In those days Princeton sorely needed in her councils the presence of one or two men of vision

and courage with strength enough to put enlightened ideas into execution.

French was studied under Witherspoon as an extra-curriculum subject, sometimes taught by himself free of charge and at others by transient natives for a compensation. The first teacher of French regularly attached to the faculty appeared in 1804, and even then the subject did not receive a place in the curriculum, but was still an extra elective. Prior to this period divinity students, who wished to study French, were instructed by the professor of theology, thus on the one hand being safeguarded in their French reading and on the other being saved the expense of employing a professional teacher.

The introduction of chemistry and natural science into the curriculum by President Smith has been spoken of in an earlier chapter. Presumably these were senior subjects, but no catalogue or other source is available for the period between 1794 and 1802, and it is impossible, therefore, to ascertain how the curriculum was re-arranged to admit these studies. On the death of Professor Minto in 1796 Professor Maclean, who was lecturing on them, took charge of his late colleague's work in mathematics and natural philosophy and apparently dropped natural history, not resuming it until 1804, when Professor Andrew Hunter was appointed to the chair of mathematics and astronomy. Thereafter, Maclean lectured on chemistry, natural philosophy, and natural history. The " Laws " of 1802 give the following curriculum:

Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior
Greek Testament,	Xenophon,	Algebra.	Natural philosophy,
Sallust,	Homer,	Geometry,	Moral philosophy,
	Cicero,	Trigonometry,	

Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior
Lucian, Cicero, Mair's "Introduction to Making Latin."	Horace, Roman antiquities, Geography, English grammar, and composition, Arithmetic, Algebra.	Practical geometry, Conic sections, Natural philosophy, English grammar and composition.	Chemistry, History, Criticism, Chronology, Logic, Classics, (Review).

This course of study is identical in freshman and sophomore years with that outlined in Dr. Smith's "Address to the Public" in 1804 on the rebuilding of Nassau Hall after the fire; but junior year was considerably improved by the addition of astronomy and by lowering into it the hitherto senior subjects, chemistry and natural history. The religious instruction of the time is interesting. On Sundays freshmen and sophomores studied biblical history and the principles of the Christian religion "agreeably to the tenets of the respective churches" to which they belonged, a survival apparently of the Latin catechism of 1793. Juniors were lectured to on Sundays by the professor of theology on the difficulties of the holy writ and "by the aid of History, Antiquities and the Principles of Sound Criticism," were instructed in the art of refuting attacks on the Bible; and by attending Sunday lectures on the evidences of natural and revealed religion, continued as seniors their preparation against the contemporary infidelity which they would encounter outside the carefully guarded precincts of the College.

One effect of Dr. Smith's emphasis on science seems to have been the crowding out of the classics first from junior and then from senior year. The letters of William Meade (1808), for instance, show that as a junior he was busied with Euclid, algebra, navigation,

surveying, trigonometry, natural philosophy and rhetoric, and as he considered these subjects easier than those of senior year he was occupying his spare time in reading history. As a senior he studied chemistry, logic, astronomy, theology, and political philosophy. This can hardly be a complete statement of his work in senior year, but it is noticeable that no mention of the classics is made in either year. Such a condition could not last, and Dr. Green relates in his autobiography that on becoming president in 1812 he discovered a senior totally ignorant of the classics, indubitably a worse state than that of the Latin salutatorian who could not translate his oration in 1783, and this so shocked the president that he resolved at all costs to restore Greek and Latin to the junior and senior years. Thus is explained the reappearance of classics in the upperclass curriculum of 1813, which, with this exception and the substitution of Virgil for Sallust and the addition of arithmetic in freshman year, is identical with the curriculum of 1802.

The new entrance requirements of 1819 had the effect of strengthening freshman year and of giving increased mathematical development to the entire course, and the classics were once more temporarily omitted from the senior schedule.

Freshman Year (*Both terms*)	Sophomore Year (*Both terms*)	Junior Year (*First term*)	Senior Year (*First term*)
Arithmetic,	Arithmetic,	Euclid,	Belles lettres,
Geography,	Geography,	Plane trigonometry,	Mechanics,
English grammar and composition,	English grammar and composition,"	Mensuration,	Composition,
Mair's "Introduction,"	Mair's "Introduction,"	Composition,	Rhetoric,
Xenophon,	Collectanea,	History,	Moral philosophy,
Ovid and Virgil (first term, re-	History,	Classics.	Logic,
	Algebra,	(*Second term*)	Mental philosophy,
		Spherical trigonometry,	Political economy,

Freshman Year (*Both terms*)	Sophomore Year (*Both terms*)	Junior Year (*Second term*)	Senior Year (*Second term*)
placed in second term by Horace), Dalzell's "Collectanea graeca majora."	Horace (first term).	Elementary astronomy, Navigation, Conic sections, Algebra applied to geometry, Fluxions, Mechanics, Natural theology, Locke "On the Understanding," Classics.	Chemistry, Natural history Experimental philosophy, The same, but omitting logic, mental philosophy, political economy, rhetoric, and moral philosophy, and substituting advanced astronomy and the evidences of the Christian religion.

The classics omitted in the above senior list reappear in the list of 1823, in which year algebra and history disappear from the sophomore curriculum.

In 1828 a modern language, French, appears for the first time as a required subject in the regular curriculum, but is announced only as an experiment, and it was hoped that Spanish also might be given. It was made a two years' course beginning in freshman year and so remained until 1833, when it was removed from the required curriculum.[1]

[1] In 1833 and 1834 French and Spanish, and from 1835 to 1841 French, Spanish, German, and Italian, were offered as optionals; but with the departure of Professor Jaeger in 1841 German dropped from the list, and French, Spanish, and Italian were offered for a year, after which until 1869, when Dr. McCosh's new elective plan went into effect, modern languages are not mentioned in the annual catalogue, although there was a succession of "teachers" of French and German in the faculty and for two years at least (1846-1847 to 1848-1849) a Professor of German.

We have seen that at this time (1829) Dr. Maclean's suggestions for strengthening the faculty and reviving the College were adopted. On his appointment to the authoritative post of vice-president steps were taken to improve the curriculum, and we find mineralogy, geology, and botany offered to the senior class of 1829-1830; but the experiment was abandoned the next year, and an effort to relieve a certain poverty of the curriculum was made by instituting a system of extra-curriculum courses of public lectures, a system which lasted until 1882, long after the curriculum became modernized. This poverty of the curriculum in the thirties was not due primarily to the lack of subjects taught so much as to their multiplicity. The trouble with the course of study was its scrappiness in the upper years. Men must have merely dabbled in studies when they had to pursue no less than eight at a time, as juniors and seniors did. Only two of the eight junior first-term subjects were continued into second term, and six others were added to fill out the second term schedule, so that, counting mathematical subjects individually, by the end of the year a junior had been put through fourteen separate courses. Seniors found their second term schedule somewhat lightened, ordinarily taking only six subjects, two of which were continuations from first term and one being the "general review." Under such a method—which was by no means peculiar to Princeton—there could have been in most cases little more than the memorizing of a number of elemental facts and rules,

Charles Godfrey Leland of 1845 says French was not taught in his day, though it had been taught before, and offers as the reason of its absence the fear that students might read irreligious books; but he is certainly mistaken, for while the language was not a required study there was a "teacher" of French on the faculty and it was possible to take the subject outside of the regular course.

the acquiring of an ill-assorted mass of information. And the nature of a few of the courses of extra-curriculum lectures indicates that the need of something more than this was acutely felt. The lectures became, in the hands of able men, general surveys of large fields of learning, clearing-houses of knowledge, and as such must have been vastly helpful to undergraduates who had ears to hear. In 1829 and 1830 the lectures were a novelty. One course, that given by Dr. Howell in anatomy and physiology, and as a remote ancestor of the modern compulsory course in hygiene and physical education, was made compulsory for all seniors and for such juniors "as had the time." Juniors, moreover, were permitted to attend the senior lectures in chemistry offered by Professor Torrey. In 1830-1831 Dr. Howell was lecturing during the summer session to private classes on medicine and surgery, and the next year Professor Joseph Henry was delivering public lectures on mechanical philosophy and physics with experiments, and a little later on civil engineering and architecture, while Professor Jaeger, who had been engaged to arrange the college museum of natural history and had been appointed its curator, began a series of public lectures on natural history. It was at this time that Jaeger was also appointed Professor of German and Italian, while Professor Hargous was offering courses in French and Spanish. The ancient drill in composition and oratory was being kept up; essays were frequently required of all students, and juniors, sophomores, and freshmen in alphabetical order delivered orations in the prayer-hall, while seniors produced them on call of the faculty. All four classes were examined on Sundays in the Bible, and on Mondays in the Greek testament. Freshmen and sophomores had three recitations a day ex-

cept Saturday, when they had but two; juniors had two recitations, and seniors one recitation and a lecture, daily.

For the next thirty-four years (1834-1868), the years of Maclean's influence, the changes in the freshman curriculum were but few, first term consisting of Livy, Xenophon, Latin and Greek composition, Roman antiquities, algebra, and second term of Horace, Aeschines "De Corona," Latin and Greek composition, and algebra. In 1843-1844 history was added to the freshman course, archeology was substituted for Roman antiquities, and Xenophon's "Memorabilia" for Aeschines. Rhetoric was restored to the course for one year and then being dropped did not reappear for twenty. In 1847-1848 Euclid was inserted in second term to remain; and in 1854 Dr. Maclean on coming to the presidency added to both terms biblical history and geography; and in 1858-1859, algebra, having gone into the entrance requirements, was finished in first term.

The sophomore curriculum shows more change during these years. The classical studies remained unvaried, Horace's satires and epistles, Demosthenes "De Corona," and Greek and Latin composition being permanent units as first term subjects, while Cicero's "De Officiis," "De Amicitia" and "De Senectute," with the Iliad, formed the second term schedule. Archeology was inserted in first term 1843, and remained until Dr. McCosh either struck it out or gave it its right name by substituting Greek and Roman history in 1868. In 1854 Dr. Maclean restored history, which had been a sophomore subject for one year (1839), and in 1856 he restored rhetoric to both terms, where it had been also for one year (1843), but had been discarded, and he added Dr. Charles Hodge's "Way of Life" to both terms. Two years later he strengthened the mathemati-

cal side of sophomore year by relegating Euclid, which used to be begun in freshman year and ended in first term of sophomore year, back entirely into the freshman year, and by taking spherical trigonometry out of second term and placing it in first term with plane trigonometry, which had been there since 1839. In its place in second term he brought down from the junior curriculum analytical geometry, mensuration, surveying, and navigation. Ratio and proportion was a sophomore first term subject from 1849-1859 inclusive, and mathematical and physical geography from 1843 to 1853.

The hand of Dr. Maclean was still more evident in the growth of the junior curriculum. During his vice-presidency junior year was stiffened, and on his accession to the presidency undoubtedly improved. But all his changes were strictly conservative, and if a new science were introduced it was very likely to be balanced by a new biblical or semi-religious subject. In 1839 the junior course for first term consisted of mathematics (analytical and descriptive geometry and differential calculus, all of which had been there since 1830); classics (Cicero "De Oratore," and Euripides), philosophy (evidences of Christianity and philosophy of mind, both of which had been there since 1830). In second term mathematics (integral calculus and mechanics, the former since 1830, the latter since 1822); classics (Cicero "De Oratore," and Sophocles); philosophy (Paley's "Natural Theology"' since 1822), and civil architecture (since 1835). Various insignificant changes in the classical authors occurred, but the first genuine advance in junior year came in 1845 when botany was introduced paralleled by zoology in 1853, physical geography in 1854, and in 1855 history and the time-honored senior subject, natural philosophy; and as a corrective he also

put in Paley's "Horæ Paulinæ." Logic came the next year, brought down from senior year, and in 1859 civil architecture was moved up into senior year, where it belonged if anywhere.

In senior year in the thirties two courses ran through both terms, natural philosophy and astronomy. In first term the senior pursued courses in logic, moral philosophy, and political economy (1822-1845 and from 1865 on) and after 1848 chemistry, which had been a second term subject since 1822. Aristotle's "Art of Poetry" was a first term subject from 1840 to 1865, when it disappeared. Dr. Maclean added Butler's "Analogy" in first term in 1855. In the second term the senior found, besides natural philosophy and astronomy, chemistry (after 1848) and United States constitution (from 1834 to 1842), the first appearance at Princeton of any course in American History. In 1843 geology and mineralogy were restored, zoology being added in 1848 and constitutional law in 1850, while in 1854 Dr. Maclean added a geology course running through both terms.

When Charles Godfrey Leland (1845) wrote his "Memoirs" and, looking back on "closely cramped, orthodox, hidebound, mathematical Princeton," recorded his opinion that it was "literally in spite of our education that we learned anything worth knowing at Princeton—as it was then," he was thinking chiefly of junior year in the early forties, before most of Dr. Maclean's changes went into effect. His adjectives are not ill chosen; the course was undoubtedly cramped and mathematical—hide-bound if one pleases—and Princeton was nothing if not orthodox. But eager, brilliant, precocious though this young philistine was, one cannot avoid the suspicion that had his frame of mind in College been a little less resentful toward the discipline

he needed and the orthodoxy he scorned, in spite of his dyspeptic condition he might have carried through life a happier memory of Princeton, even with her faults, than that of "Mala Mater."

Mr. Leland should have been born thirty years later, for under President McCosh a new order of things came into being. The additions to entrance requirements were slight and gradual, but the changes in the curriculum were vital and followed one another in swift succession. In 1867-1868, the last year of Dr. Maclean's presidency, the entrance requirements were: *Latin:* Cæsar (five books), Sallust (Catiline or Jugurtha), Virgil (Eclogues and six books of the Æneid), Cicero (six Orations), Mair's "Introduction," grammar and prosody; *Greek:* Gospels, Xenophon, Reader (Bullion or Felton), grammar and prosody; *Mathematics:* arithmetic, algebra (through simple equations), Euclid (one book); English grammar; geography. In 1870 the English requirement was made more exacting, grammar, orthography, punctuation, composition, ancient and modern geography being specified, and Arnold's "Latin Prose Composition" taking the place of Mair's "Introduction." This was the first time that English composition had appeared in an American college entrance requirement.[1] But if with that exception these requirements showed no remarkable change the catalogues for 1868-1869 made it plain that the course of study was to be speedily and materially improved. This was the catalogue in which Dr. McCosh announced the introduction of his elective plan and published a conspectus of the proposed new curriculum, to go into effect the next year. Freshman and sophomore years were still to be composed entirely of required subjects, the freshman schedule con-

[1] E. C. Broome, "College Admission Requirements," p. 62.

sisting of Latin, Greek, mathematics, rhetoric, and elocution, and the sophomore schedule adding to these natural history and a modern language. The elective plan became operative in the upperclass years under the following scheme:

JUNIOR YEAR

Required: Mechanics, natural philosophy, astronomy;
Logic, metaphysics, psychology;
Physical geography, geology;
Rhetoric, English language;
Relations of science and religion.
Elective: Two from the following: Higher mathematics, Greek, Latin, modern language (French or German).

SENIOR YEAR

Required: Chemistry, natural philosophy, astronomy;
Moral philosophy;
Political economy;
English language and literature;
Relations of science and religion.
Elective: Six hours a week from the following one-hour subjects:

Natural philosophy and astronomy,
Organic and applied chemistry,
History of philosophy,
Modern history,
Political science,
Greek language and literature,
Latin language and literature,
Modern language (German or French).

The content of the electives was extended by degrees, and nine years later, in 1877, Dr. McCosh presented to the board of trustees a report on the course of study, which was a summary of the educational creed of his faculty and is the best résumé of his curriculum in its earlier state. In most respects the course was the same as that of the best American colleges of the day, but it had certain characteristics which he believed showed that, while the College had been making the advances in material well-being which have been already described, it had been improving no less in its curriculum and method of instruction. The entrance requirements for

the academic department were the same as those of 1868, except that three books of Xenophon were now demanded instead of two, two books of Homer had been added, and the requirement in algebra had been slightly raised. Two years of Latin and Greek were required of all academic students, and encouragements were held out in the arrangement of electives to induce them to continue in these studies. In addition to the three fundamental subjects freshmen now studied English and French, and sophomores studied English, German, physiology, and natural history. At the end of sophomore year there was a comprehensive examination in all freshman and sophomore studies. Those who passed this test were allowed to proceed into the junior curriculum. They were introduced in philosophy to psychology, logic, metaphysics, natural theology and history, and in science to mechanics, physics, and physical geography or geology. While approaching new subjects, however, the junior had to continue some of the old. For instance, English was required, but in the advanced form of English literature. So was it with electives. A junior had to choose two out of the four: mathematics, Greek, Latin, French or German, going on to higher studies in each. Similarly a senior was still required to pursue certain fundamental studies: astronomy, physics, geology or physical geography, chemistry, ethics, political economy, English literature, relations of science and religion; and from the following list of eleven electives he had to select four: Latin and the science of language, Greek, German, and French, history of philosophy, political science and international law, history, mathematics, physics, chemistry (applied and organic), astronomy (practical), museum work.

The College was avoiding two opposite extremes; it

did not grant the opportunity of selection until students were ready to select knowingly; and, on the other hand, it prevented narrowness by requiring all students to have competent knowledge of credited fundamental branches of a liberal education. Special attention was given to English composition, essays being required each term, and elocution and rhetoric being taught to the three lower classes, while seniors delivered orations before the whole college during first and second terms. An endowment had been given for a prize in extempore debate, the Lynde Prize, the first debating prize offered in any American college, and still the leading trophy offered to Princeton debaters. Ex-President Maclean must have looked on with wondering and wistful eyes when he read that $2,000 a year was being distributed in prizes for one sort or another, in amounts ranging from the Stinnecke Scholarship, worth five hundred dollars a year for three years, open to academic sophomores, down to the Junior Orator Medals, worth twenty dollars apiece. In fellowships Princeton was leading the colleges with eight offered to graduate students in mental science, classics, mathematics, experimental science, history, modern languages, and social science. In the graduate department forty-two students were enrolled and the definite organization of the department was being authorized experimentally that year by the board of trustees.

The John C. Green School of Science, founded in 1873, was now four years old. The entrance requirements had originally been: *English:* orthography, punctuation, English grammar, English composition, rhetoric (six chapters of Hart's text-book), and geography (Guyot's); *History:* United States history (Willson's); *Mathematics:* arithmetic entire including the metric sys-

tem, algebra (Ray's Higher) through the theory of equations, plane and solid geometry; *Latin:* grammar, Cæsar (3 books), Virgil (2 books). But these requirements had proved to be altogether too ambitious and by 1877 the algebra demanded had been reduced to quadratics of one unknown quantity, and the geometry to only one book of Euclid, while United States history had been omitted.[1] The interesting thing about the list is that no science whatever was required for admission. Mr. Broome has suggested that a thorough drill in classics and mathematics was considered preferable as a mental training for work in the scientific school to a poor preparation in science such as the preparatory schools of that day afforded; and one may hardly quarrel with this explanation.

The object of the course was to give instruction in science but with a distinctly humanistic background. In fact the only courses that could be called technical were analytical chemistry and assaying. Candidates for the bachelor of science degree therefore followed certain studies in common with academic students—in freshman and sophomore years, English, French, and German; in junior year, psychology or logic, and in senior year, ethics and political economy. The course leading to the bachelor's degree in science was as follows:

Freshman Year	Junior Year
Mathematics,	Mathematics,
Mineralogy,	Mechanics,
Botany,	Physics,
Drawing,	Chemistry,
English (rhetoric, essays, elocution),	Physical geography,
Modern languages (French and German).	English literature,
	Logic or psychology,
	Modern languages.

[1] Replaced in 1879.

Sophomore Year	Senior Year
Mathematics,	Astronomy,
Inorganic chemistry,	Physics (laboratory),
Mineralogy,	Chemistry,
Botany,	Biology,
Physiology,	Mineralogy,
English (rhetoric, essays, elocution),	Geology,
Modern languages (French and German).	Drawing,
	English literature,
	Political economy,
	German.

At the beginning of junior year, a student wishing to concentrate his attention on a particular branch might elect one of the four following divisions or groups in which special instruction was provided: mathematics and mechanics; biology and geology; chemistry and mineralogy; physics.

Candidates for the degree of civil engineer in the school of science underwent the same entrance examinations as the bachelor of science candidates, but the course was entirely required, although in part identical with that offered to candidates for the science degree. Freshmen civil engineers shared with bachelors of science mathematics, English, modern languages, mineralogy, and geometrical drawing. In addition, they followed courses in geodesy and topographical drawing. Sophomore civil engineers shared with bachelors of science mathematics, descriptive geometry, chemistry, English, modern languages, and followed, in addition, courses in stereotomy and topographical drawing.

In junior year the civil engineers studied mathematics, mechanics, physics, English, with bachelor of science candidates and, in addition, geodesy, stereotomy, topographical drawing; and in senior year they followed with bachelors of science courses in astronomy, physics, English, and, in addition, applied mechanics, machines, constructions, geodesy, stereotomy, topographical draw-

ing; and each candidate for the civil engineering degree had to present a thesis before graduation.

Frankly, in an attempt to humanize a course whose value must depend almost entirely on the technical training afforded, the makers of this plan of civil engineering studies had not achieved a very happy result. The issue had not been squarely met; theoretically civil engineering had no logical place in the Princeton general scheme, but having been given a footing it should have been kept purely technical, or else extended over more than four years.

Ten years later (1887-1888) the academic entrance requirements had been increased by the addition of United States history and a short essay, by extending algebra through two unknown quantities, and by demanding two books of Euclid instead of one. The school of science requirements in English and arithmetic had been made identical with those of the academic department; plane geometry entire was now called for instead of only one book of the immortal Euclid; physical geography (Guyot's) and the elements of French (grammar and fifty pages of prose) were new requirements added in 1886, and, with Cæsar (five books instead of three) and Cicero (four Orations) in place of Virgil, completed the list, showing substantial advance in mathematics and Latin over the requirements of 1877. As a whole, there was less Latin required than in the academic list, but more geometry, besides two entirely new subjects, one of them a modern language; and in physical geography an approach to a science requirement had been made. Civil engineering candidates took the same entrance examinations as the bachelor of science candidates, but omitted the Latin (from 1886), and since nothing was substituted, entrance to the civil engi-

neering course was by that amount the easier, a fact which did not take long to become known, with the result that numbers of men entered the civil engineering department who had no intention of pursuing that profession.[1]

[1] The complete list of entrance requirements in 1887 was as follows:

For the Degree of A.B.	For the Degree of B.S. and C.E.
English	*English*
Grammar (Whitney, Reed, or Kellogg)	(Same as A.B.)
Modern geography (Guyot)	
United States history (Anderson or Johnston)	
Essay (subject announced annually)	
Latin	*Latin*
Grammar and prosody	(Not required of C. E. candidates)
Cæsar (5 books)	
Sallust (Catiline or Jugurtha)	Grammar
Virgil (Æneid 6 books)	Cæsar (5 books)
Cicero (6 Orations)	Cicero (4 Orations)
Composition (Jones, or Arnold 12 chapters)	
Geography of Ancient Italy.	
Greek	*Modern Language*
Grammar and prosody	French (grammar and 50 pages of prose).
Xenophon (Anabasis 4 books)	
Reader (Goodwin)	*Science*
Homer (Iliad 2 books)	Arnold's Physical Geography.
Composition (Jones)	
Geography of Ancient Greece and Asia Minor.	

At this time (1887-1888) Bible, oratory, and essays were still being required of all students. In the academic department the freshman schedule consisted of fifteen hours a week devoted to Latin, Greek, mathematics, and French, all required. The sophomore schedule, also all required, consisted likewise of fifteen hours, devoted in first term to Latin, Greek, mathematics, history, French, and anatomy, English taking the place of history in second and third terms, and zoology ousting anatomy in second term and being itself replaced in third term by botany. The last three courses were one-hour courses. Dr. McCosh had encountered the old difficulty of finding room for the sciences.

The academic junior schedule each term consisted of fourteen hours a week of which eight were required:

I	II	III
Physics 4	Physics 3	Physics 3
English 2	English 2	English 2
Psychology 2	Psychology and Logic 3	Logic 3

And, in addition, a junior had to elect six hours from the following two-hour courses:

I	II	III
Latin	Latin	Latin
Greek	Greek	Greek
Mathematics	Mathematics	Mathematics
History	History	History
French	German	German
Anglo-Saxon.	Physical geography.	Physical geography.

Mathematics

Arithmetic entire, including the metric system.
Algebra through quadratics of 2 unknown quantities.
Geometry, Euclid (2 books).

Mathematics

Arithmetic entire, including the metric system.
Algebra through quadratics of 2 unknown quantities.
Geometry (Plane geometry entire).

The noticeable features of junior year were first, that a language course was unavoidable in first term, and second, there was no course in English save a first term two-hour course in Anglo-Saxon.

The academic senior schedule in first and second terms consisted of fifteen or sixteen hours a week, of which nine were required, and of thirteen or fourteen hours in third term, of which seven were required:

I	II	III
Astronomy 4	Science and religion 1	Science and religion 1
Chemistry 2	Chemistry 2	Chemistry 2
Ethics 3	Jurisprudence and political science 2	Jurisprudence and political science 2
	Geology 4	

and, in addition, a senior elected six hours (seven if he chose a three-hour course) from the following two-hour subjects, which were so grouped as to suggest, though not require, concentrated, or at least coherent, choice:

Philosophy	Literature	Science
History of philosophy	English	Mathematics
Metaphysics	Greek	Practical astronomy
Science and religion	Latin	Physics
Comparative politics	French	Applied chemistry
International and constitutional law	German	Laboratory chemistry
Physiology and psychology	Sanskrit	Biology, or paleontology
Pedagogics		Histology
Archeology		
History of art		

In the school of science all candidates except civil engineers pursued the same studies until the end of first term in junior year. These were: modern languages, mathematics, graphics, surveying, general chemistry, analytical chemistry, mineralogy, botany, biology. And in common with academic students, scientific students pur-

sued psychology, logic, political economy, English literature, physics, astronomy, geology, anatomy and physiology, rhetoric. In second term a school of science junior elected one of the following five main courses: general science, chemistry and mineralogy, chemistry and biology, mathematics and mechanics, each of which except the first, in general science, enabled him to concentrate his studies. In the general science course, nevertheless, he found in senior year further opportunity to exercise selection by a system of grouped studies, the groups being: (*a*) practical astronomy; (*b*) mathematical physics; (*c*) comparative politics and international law; (*d*) physiological psychology, biology, and morphology; (*e*) archeology, art, strength of materials, stereotomy.

The civil engineering entrance requirements in 1887-1888 were the same as those for the science course except that no Latin was asked for; but the course differed at once after entrance, though certain studies—modern languages, English, psychology and logic, political science, general chemistry, mineralogy—were still carried on in common with science students. The humanistic element was, therefore, still strongly persistent.

In the revision of the academic curriculum under President Patton in 1889 freshman year was left entirely required of fifteen hours distributed as follows: Latin, 4; Greek, 5; mathematics, 4; English, 2, and in second term (the College having gone back to a two-term system) one hour was taken from Greek and given to anatomy.

An important step was taken by extending the elective principle down into sophomore year, requiring in first term two hours each of Latin, Greek, mathematics, modern languages, history, and chemistry, substituting in second term for the last three subjects English, logic, and

zoology and botany; and in order to make up his schedule of sixteen hours, requiring the sophomore to elect two of the following two-hour subjects: Latin, Greek, mathematics, French, German.

Juniors were still required to take eight hours in each term in English, physics, psychology, and political economy. Besides these the junior elected three subjects of two hours each, making a total schedule of fourteen hours. The electives were grouped under seven departments offering twenty-one courses in all as follows:

Mental philosophy	3	Modern languages	2
Political science and history	6	English	2
Classics	4	Mathematics and mathematical science	2
		Natural science	2

The extension of the elective principle was manifested in senior year by a decrease in the number of required hours to five in first term (astronomy 3, ethics 2) and four in second term (geology 3, evidences of Christianity 1), and the selection of ten hours from a list of forty-five courses.

Summing up the situation of the Princeton curriculum after the revision in 1889 it is apparent that the studies of freshman year were all required and were substantially the old standard college studies. In sophomore year the elective studies were merely an extension of these freshman subjects, offering only two new subjects, chemistry and logic, but permitting the sophomore to give more special attention to Latin, Greek, mathematics, and the modern languages if he had any preferences. Junior and senior years had still a substantial required basis, the electives in each having as prerequisites fundamental courses in the studies usually forming a liberal education. The revision clearly had no in-

tention of doing away with the core of required studies which preserved the good features of the American college curriculum. The arrangement of the electives allowed any student to make his choice with intelligence, having had the elements of all in his preliminary required studies; the latter, on the other hand, prepared him for that choice. This suggests the principle on which the electives were arranged, namely, that the studies most central and of general character were to be required as furnishing the discipline and open view of the liberally educated man, and that the electives were to be introduced gradually with the most central and general courses, these in turn to develop away more and more from the general to the special, the number increasing steadily as the more highly specialized were approached. The general or introductory electives were, therefore, placed in junior year, the more specialized in senior year. It was believed that this would lead to more intelligent and coherent choice on the part of the student, and in this he was to be aided by the scheduling of the courses themselves, the more specialized and clearly incongruous being mutually exclusive.

The institution of special honors was to operate in the same way; for, while general honors were preserved for those who preferred general studies, special honors were instituted for those devoting themselves to particular lines. Unless the standard retrograded and the basic principles of the Princeton curriculum were changed, the time could not be far distant when intelligent and coherent choice of studies would be not merely permissible but obligatory; and this in a word was the feature of the revision of the curriculum in the next administration.

In the last year of President Patton's administration

Procter Hall

certain changes in the school of science entrance requirements were adopted modifying their rigidity and raising their standard without disregarding the claims of the average school preparing for Princeton, and according science ample recognition among entrance subjects. That a fresh revision and co-ordination of the curriculum had become necessary owing to the growth of the student body and the extension of the list of electives was also apparent toward the close of President Patton's administration. Whatever the value of the lecture method of instruction abroad, at Princeton it was proving inadequate as a means of getting hold of the average American undergraduate who was only too willing to allow the lecturer to do all the work during the term, while he acted the part of a more or less delighted listener, and prepared for the final test by means of a syllabus absorbed whole the night before examination. The list of electives had likewise grown unwieldy and men were making their choices too frequently without any definite plan except the labor-saving one described above. The large number of electives open to seniors and juniors together had also proved troublesome, besides being illogical and theoretically unsound.

Turning back, therefore, to the basal theory to which Princeton was committed, namely, that the aim of the American college and of the university developed out of that college is not only to make scholars but chiefly to produce a body of men conformed to a type, trained in common disciplines, furnished with a common body of knowledge, and prepared in fundamentals for citizenship and the life of society, as the premise of a reorganization of the curriculum the following principles were again clarified and laid down by the committee on revision appointed soon after Professor Wilson was elected

to the presidency. All students should be required in their earlier years to pursue a certain body of studies either identical or of similar kind. As these students come from a variety of schools, public and private, and as Princeton does not rely, as some other institutions may, on a State system of education of which the university is the crown, thus assuring itself of a large proportion of uniformly trained candidates, a year's work in classics and mathematics should be required of all. This is their formative year, the year of their whipping into shape, of their being made homogeneous, and ready for the work of succeeding years. It is spent in the fundamental subjects of the cultivated man's education, carried beyond the school point of view and taught in university surroundings and under university methods. Sophomore year is also largely a preparatory year but in a different sense, being given over to courses introductory to science and philosophy and pointing constantly to the choices the sophomore will have to make of the subjects in which he will soon be giving more special attention under the system of "assisted" or "directed" electives.

The degree of bachelor of letters was at the same time instituted, not as an excrescence on the Princeton scheme like the bachelor of architecture degree experimented with by Dr. McCosh, nor even of doubtful logic like the civil engineering degree in the school of science, but as essentially a humanistic degree open to those who entered college without offering Greek, and who in the later years of their course pursued studies in the humanistic or philosophical departments as distinct from the scientific. The bachelor of science degree was reserved for those who devoted themselves to the mathematical and scientific departments. The three bachelor's de-

grees were placed on the same footing as far as standards were concerned, the only difference being one of subject-matter. The entrance requirements for the academic and scientific departments were made identical or practically so, Greek being required of candidates for the arts degree. All candidates offered the same history, Latin, and English, the school of science candidate offering more mathematics, and two modern languages instead of one, or else a science and advanced standing in one modern language.

Beginning with sophomore year the courses were placed on a three-hour basis, each student taking five. In this year the academic student was required to take a course in classics, and a scientific student a course in either Latin or mathematics, but here the continuation of school work ceased. He was introduced to science and philosophy, and as a basis of common culture physics, logic, and psychology were required of all. In addition to these required courses a sophomore elected additional courses to make up his total of five. These electives were carefully planned as introductory and in many cases prerequisite to upperclass courses. Thus a sophomore was almost compelled to look ahead and map out his future; at least he had to decide whether he would proceed in the main along philosophical, or literary, or scientific, lines.

The upperclass courses were classified under departments as already described, and at the end of sophomore year the student had to choose the department in which he was henceforth to concentrate his work. According to the rules of the department he chose, two (or three) courses were fixed for a junior, the remaining three (or two) he needed to complete his list of five, being selected with the proviso that at least three should be within the

division in which his department lay and one should be in some other. The fifth course was thus a free elective which he might choose as he pleased. In senior year he continued his studies in his department unless he desired to change and had made his junior choices in such a way as to allow him to satisfy the internal regulations of his proposed new department.

The theory underlying this course of study is that the best preparation of the mind for use in the affairs of the world, as well as in the higher intellectual life, is obtained by adequate disciplinary and general education followed by extensive but carefully adjusted study of some important subject in particular. The departmental courses of the upperclass years are directly preparatory to the courses offered in the graduate school, and any of the bachelor degrees, therefore, entitles the holder to enroll as a candidate for higher degrees.

Under the administration of President Hibben important improvements of detail have already been made in this plan tending to do away with restrictions which the experience of the past nine years has proved to be unnecessary or ill-advised. In the first place, the standardization of the entrance requirements for courses leading to a bachelor's degree has been carried to completion by making the requirements in the four major subjects Latin, Greek (or a modern language), mathematics, and English identical for the three bachelor courses, Greek being required only of candidates for the arts degree; and due consideration has been paid to the preferences of candidates and to the equipments of the schools by permitting a certain range of choice among the other entrance requirements. Thus, in addition to the four major subjects mentioned above, each candidate must offer such a selection of subjects from history, modern

languages, mathematics, science, as to make up a total of not less than five points for candidates in arts, and not less than seven for candidates in science or letters. Moreover, an alternative method of entrance to the courses leading to a bachelor's degree has been put into operation, whereby the candidate's school record and attainment are taken into consideration and he is examined in only the four major subjects, instead of the full list of entrance requirements.

Similarly the entrance requirements for the course leading to the degree of civil engineer have undergone readjustment so that to-day the candidate offers four major subjects: English; two of the three languages, Latin, French, and German; algebra, plane and solid geometry, and plane trigonometry; and either physics or chemistry. In addition he must offer at least five points in history, foreign languages, and science, as in the requirements for the bachelor's degrees.

As for the course of study, the elective principle has been extended in sophomore year, though still preserving the basis of required studies; and in the upperclass years the student is now required to place in one department only two of his five courses, the other three being left to his free choice. The previously operative system of formal prerequisites has similarly been so modified as to allow freer choice.

A notable step in advance has been taken by the adoption of a new plan for final special honors, which is also in operation. This plan, based on the idea that honors should be granted only to those who do special work for them, and not to those who merely rank high in the ordinary work of the curriculum, completes the intention of the course of study by enabling students of certain standing and of marked tastes and ability to

follow in junior and senior years advanced work in lines of their own choosing, being thrown largely on their own resources, though under the general guidance of individual members of the faculty. Honors courses are now offered for the first time in all departments. Given time firmly to take root and become of the essence of the University's instructional policy, this plan should develop a large number of men doing honors work in their last two years of college life. Under the new plan an honors candidate is not required to take more than four courses; he follows in the honors courses a body of special outside reading; and in most departments he will come up at the end of senior year for a final comprehensive examination on his two years' reading, which will take the place of the regular senior examinations. Whether it will be possible to raise the average heterogeneous American undergraduate body to the condition of general scholarship prevalent, for example, at the English universities where a scholarly tradition exists and where a majority of men are candidates for honors, time alone can tell. Princeton believes that the effort is at least worth making, and that the new honors plan, if carried out with courage and faith as a direct corollary and inevitable sequel to the preceptorial method of instruction, will in time create some measure of the undergraduate scholarly tradition that American higher education has so generally lacked.

Summing up in conclusion, it may be said that the Princeton plan of undergraduate liberal studies provides three main programmes: first, an all-round training, the only historic course aiming at universality, and leading to the bachelor of arts degree; second and third, two modern variants, one mainly humanistic and the other mainly scientific in trend, both distinctly liberal in

character and leading respectively to the bachelor's degree in letters or in science. It is believed at Princeton that these three programmes fully accommodate the three main tendencies of liberal education. But under all three lies one common conviction. They are based on prescribed school and college studies of central and general value, and so related as to form a basis on which further training can be erected. This once secured, they provide for the student increasing capacity to use freedom intelligently by a gradual and progressive opening of elective studies in the lines not of his chance preferences but of his ascertained aptitudes.

IX

BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT

Growth of the Campus. Early Buildings. Campus in 1794. Buildings of 1803. Early Equipment. Building Era of 1832. Joseph Henry's Plan. Equipment After McCosh. The "Park" Versus the "University" Scheme. Nassau Hall. Dean's House. Libraries. Laboratories, Observatories, and Museums. Prospect. Art Museum. Marquand Chapel and Murray-Lodge. Athletic Equipment. Infirmary. The Dormitories. The Graduate College.

Prior to its removal to Princeton the College owned neither land nor buildings and scarcely any equipment. For the course of lectures on natural philosophy and particularly on electricity which Mr. Evans delivered before the College at Newark in the autumn of 1751, President Burr had to hire apparatus. Soon after, he secured subscriptions to the amount of two hundred pounds, Pennsylvania currency, for the purchase of equipment. Had his acquisitions been in any way remarkable they hardly would have escaped the keen eye and ever ready notebook of the Reverend Ezra Stiles, who, when in 1754 he visited the College for the first time, saw nothing but the library worth an entry in his diary.[1] Mr. Stiles failed to record the size of the collection, but an independent allusion[2] at this time informs us that the library contained "a considerable number" of books. The definite history of the library begins in 1755, when Governor Belcher presented his collection.

The decision to settle at Princeton wrought a trans-

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, March 10, 1892.
[2] Preface to the *Independent Reflector*, N. Y., 1754.

formation in the assets of the College. It immediately came into possession of the FitzRandolph gift of four and a half acres on which to erect buildings, besides the ten acres of cleared land " contiguous to the site of the College," and two hundred acres of woodland within easy hauling distance, to guarantee a fuel supply. The woodland was eventually disposed of and for over a century the campus showed no enlargement. By 1887 it had, however, grown to fifty-five acres, which the acquisitions of the next three years increased to two hundred and twenty-five acres, known as the central tract of the campus, and contained roughly within the rectangle formed by Nassau Street on the north, Washington Road on the east, Stony Brook on the south, and the railroad on the west. In 1905 the University by gift came into possession of the western tract of the campus, known as the Springdale Farm, of two hundred and twenty-one acres and including the land occupied by the University Golf Links. In the same year the eastern tract of the campus, consisting of some ninety-three acres, running from the ridge of Prospect Avenue down to Stony Brook, including Laughlin Field and the woods on the lake shore, and known as the Olden Farm, was also presented to the University. In 1912 a further gift of ninety-three acres, called the Butler tract, and adjoining Olden Farm, brought the present total number of acres in the campus up to six hundred and thirty-two.

When the College moved to Princeton in 1756 it found in Nassau Hall and the president's house its two first buildings and experienced for the first time a visible, tangible existence. Governor Belcher's legacies were brought to Nassau Hall; his pictures were hung in the prayer-hall and his books were shelved in an upper room

over the main entrance to the building, henceforth to be known as the library room. This was the room in which were held the sessions of the State legislature in 1776, and in 1783 the ordinary sessions of the Continental Congress.

The next building on the campus was a modest "engine house," in all probability little more than a shed or small barn, put up to shelter the college fire engine, the hundred leather buckets, and the two ladders ordered by the board of trustees soon after the occupation of Nassau Hall. Six years later (1762) a new kitchen-house was built near the east end of Nassau Hall. This must have been a fairly substantial building since it also contained quarters for the steward, and lasted until the rearrangement of the campus in the middle thirties. In 1766 a new engine house with new buckets, numbered and lettered "N. H.," replaced the old establishment. These constructions, with Nassau Hall, the president's house, and an additional shed in the south campus, constituted the entire group of college buildings until the end of the eighteenth century.

The earliest picture of the campus is the engraved frontispiece of Blair's "Account," of 1764. The campus was then a bare unenclosed lot, a footnote in the text of the "Account" informing us that the wooden fence shown in the print was only "the fancy of the engraver." In 1765 a number of young buttonwood trees were planted in the "college yard"[1]—the shade trees ordered by the board of trustees. Nine years later these trees were still too small to obstruct the wide view that Mr. John Adams enjoyed when President Witherspoon escorted him up into the balcony of Nassau Hall. In

[1] The term "campus" was introduced during President Witherspoon's administration.

1770, by order of the board, the front campus was "handsomely & well" inclosed on the street front by a brick wall and "pailed fence" on a stone foundation which it was declared by formal resolution "would add to the beauty, convenience, & reputation of the College." At the same time, to render the lower tier of rooms in Nassau Hall more habitable, the soil to the depth of two feet was graded away from the building to the street, making the present basement floor nearly on a level with the ground. No extended description of the campus in the eighteenth century is known save the one left by Moreau de Saint-Méry[1] after his visit in 1794. He found the brick wall in bad condition, and as he makes no mention of the paling fence the latter had probably vanished in smoke during the British occupancy of Nassau Hall in Revolutionary days. At equal distances in the wall were pilasters, each intended to support a wooden urn, but several of the urns were lying on the ground. The urns were painted gray. Wooden steps, unguarded by balustrades, led up to the three entrances into the building. The two upper floors were given over to students' rooms. On the main or entrance floor, which was some seven or eight feet above the ground, were the dining-room, the library containing two thousand volumes, and the Rittenhouse orrery, and the prayer-hall furnished with plain wooden benches and Peale's portrait of Washington. The recitation rooms were probably on the basement floor, or what Moreau calls the cellar. His description of the appearance of the campus is vivid:

"It is untidy and covered with the dung of the cattle that come there to graze. In the center of it is an old iron four-pounder, minus its carriage. This cannon, the

[1] "Voyage aux Etats-Unis," pp. 114-116.

bad condition of the wall, with several of the urns fallen on the ground, all bear the mark of neglect, and you reach the edifice sorry that the students should have such a regrettable example before their eyes. . . . Behind the College is a very large yard, dirty and lying fallow, so that everything in the place looks neglected."

Under President Smith improvements began to be made and additional buildings were erected. In 1799, for the elder Professor Maclean, a house was put up in the same position relative to Nassau Hall as the president's house, but on the east side of the campus, becoming known later as the vice-president's house. It was removed in 1871 when the front campus was enlarged. In 1803-1804 northeast of Nassau Hall the refectory was built, later known as "Philosophical Hall." On the opposite side of the campus, northwest of Nassau Hall, was placed the corresponding library building (now the University Offices) which contained besides the library the freshman and sophomore recitation rooms and a room for the president's classes. At the southwest end of Nassau Hall a second professor's house was next built, matching in style the Maclean house. The divinity students were moved into "Divinity Hall," one of three houses purchased from the adjoining property in 1804 and situated east of the present south stack of the University library. The space gained for dormitory use in Nassau Hall by these improvements rendered the accommodations there sufficient for the next thirty years to house all the students.

Turning to the equipment during this period, we find that when Dr. Witherspoon arrived in 1768 it was negligible. We have seen that in the resolution of 1769 empowering a committee to purchase up to the amount of two hundred and fifty pounds the trustees stated that

the College had for a long time been " destitute " of apparatus in natural philosophy. Dr. Witherspoon's was the first large purchase, just as the two consignments of books he brought over were the first large acquisition to the library since the Belcher gift. In 1770 he purchased Rittenhouse's orrery and for many years this was the pride of the institution and the one thing it possessed that all visitors were sure to notice. Everything except the orrery was destroyed by the enemy in the Revolution. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, in 1787, remarked that the library was small and the philosophical apparatus indifferent, the orrery being its sole noteworthy feature. During the summer of 1795 the elder Maclean began his connection with Princeton and that autumn the first chemical laboratory in the College was set up. The three-year grant from the State of New Jersey, secured in 1796, was designated for the repair of Nassau Hall, the replenishment of the library, and the restoration of the philosophical apparatus. According to President Smith the last of these objects alone would have consumed a thousand dollars more than the total annual appropriation, and he wrote to all the alumni of the College who had been graduated since he entered the faculty, in an effort to raise funds, for " if I live," said he, " I am resolved if possible to have in future one of the best apparatuses on the continent." [1]

In accordance with this purpose, the first moneys received from the State were appropriated to equipment and the sum of twelve hundred dollars was thus expended, only to have the fire of 1802 not only wipe out the library of three thousand volumes, but also injure the new apparatus. Three years later a substantial, and at that time unique, addition to the scientific equip-

[1] Eliza S. M. Quincy, " Memoir," Boston, 1861, pp. 67-68.

ment was Dr. Smith's acquisition of the cabinet of natural history which received a special room in the refectory building with a tablet on the door naming the founder, Mr. Boudinot. In 1817 the course in astronomy was aided by the gift of a set of astronomical maps drawn by Professor Bode, of Berlin; and in the following year Dr. Hosack made his offer to arrange and add to the mineralogical collection owned by the College. A room in the library building was assigned to the collection and here John Torrey began his work at Princeton. Insignificant additions to the library and the scientific collection were made from time to time, such as the appropriation in 1818 of the sum of two hundred dollars for mathematical books, and one hundred dollars for the improvement of the chemical and philosophical apparatus, and the general result was meager to an extreme. In 1835-1836 a new telescope was purchased for four hundred and twenty dollars by the Alumni Association, soon to be eclipsed by a mannikin costing six hundred and thirty dollars, and used to illustrate the anatomical and physiological phases of a course of lectures on natural theology. The mannikin outlived most of the men who lectured on it and was still doing valiant but somewhat weary service in Dr. McCosh's day. The description of the apparatus owned by the College as given in the annual catalogue was reprinted verbatim year after year and was practically confined to the statement that the institution possessed a well-selected mineralogical cabinet founded by Hosack and a museum of natural history founded by Boudinot. Professor Henry purchased several hundred dollars' worth of apparatus in England in 1837, but the invoice he filed with the bill has not been found, and the bill itself was not paid for several years, owing to the straitened

condition of the treasury. The library which in 1796 numbered twenty-three hundred volumes, and at the time of its destruction in 1802 three thousand, had risen from its ashes to a total of seven thousand volumes in 1812, at the end of President Smith's administration. During the next forty years, incredible as it may appear, only two thousand volumes were added.

In the early thirties a new building era dawned. The catalogue of 1832-1833 announced with some show of pride that, in consequence of the increase in student numbers a new dormitory was being erected to contain thirty-two rooms each with a bedroom attached. This was East College, now removed. In 1834, to provide cheaper board an additional refectory and steward's house was erected adjacent to the building of 1803, and the latter was enlarged so as to furnish ample accommodations for the scientific departments of the College. In 1835-1836 a duplicate of East College was erected on the opposite side of the quadrangle behind Nassau Hall and was called West College. Including professors' houses there were now nine buildings on the campus.

Up to this time no need had been felt of a definite scheme to be followed in the development of the campus, and it was not until 1836 when Joseph Henry presented a consistent plan for the location of future buildings that any systematic arrangement was adopted. No copy of his plan is on record, but a lithographed circular of this date, issued by the American Whig Society, soliciting contributions for its proposed new hall, contains a plan showing the location of old buildings and the proposed location of new ones. Professor Henry was one of the signers of the circular, and it is most probable that the plan there shown was his. At any rate, the

laying-out of the quadrangle behind Nassau Hall followed this plan in every respect save in the location of a chapel between the two Halls. The professor's house southwest of Nassau Hall was removed and a new one built for Professor Henry in 1837, on a line with the then library building. Subsequently this house was taken down and rebuilt on the opposite side of the campus, and is now the residence of the dean of the college. The two societies erected halls modeled after ancient Greek temples, which were replaced in 1890 by the present marble structures; and the old steward's house and kitchen of 1764 was removed. In 1838-1839 a handsome iron fence was erected along the street front of the campus, and by this time Dr. Carnahan had removed the rows of poplars and had set out a number of elms. The signs of prosperity are pointed out in the Whig Hall circular already mentioned. Extensive improvements were going on in grounds and buildings, in the apparatus of the philosophical and chemical departments and in the mineralogical and geological collections; and there had been formed a cabinet of drawings, casts, and models for the illustration of classical literature and the fine arts. In short, great advances had been made, so the circular declared, toward "the furnishing of the Institution with all the implements and facilities for a liberal and extended course of instruction." A lithographed frontispiece to the annual catalogue, drawn by R. S. Gilbert of Philadelphia, published for the first time in the catalogue of 1839-1840 and repeated for the next fifteen years, shows eleven buildings including professors' houses.

These were the improvements to which Vice-President Dallas referred in his speech at the centennial celebration in 1847. He had wandered about Princeton the

whole morning in pursuit of persons and objects that still after forty years lived in his memory, and had found almost nothing familiar. And yet he felt a glow of pleasure and of pride, he said, as he noticed the changes. " The advanced system of tuition; the lengthened catalogue of attending students; the co-operating chairs of theology and law; those two classical structures[1] consecrated to friendship and literature, whose white Ionic columns shine so beautifully in contrast with the verdure of the campus; the rising architectural neatness of the hall of prayer;[2] those majestic and umbrageous trees; that iron railing, dividing the academic shade from the busy thoroughfare; the commodious brick mansion that overlooks the site of the once flower-embosomed cottage of Dr. Thompson;[3] these various other striking and advantageous changes, attesting an onward course of cultivation and character, I contemplate with delight."

In the spring of 1847 the erection of the proposed chapel was begun, not where the Henry plan had reserved a site between the halls, but east of Nassau Hall on the present site of the north stack of the University library. The chapel cost six thousand five hundred dollars and was built on a vaguely cruciform plan which stirred up bitter criticism. It was claimed that such a plan was associated with " popery and superstition," and if the chapel were completed according to this design it " would remain an unanswerable argument against Presbyterian objection to Popish symbolism "— at which sentiment even Dr. Maclean in his " History "

[1] The two Halls.
[2] The chapel which was then being built.
[3] Professor of languages, 1802-08. He seems to have lived in the house southwest of Nassau Hall, built in 1803-04, and removed when Professor Henry's " brick mansion " was erected.

is compelled to scoff. The building was of local stone, and contained three galleries, one at the end of the building, and one in each transept, if the term may be applied to what were nothing more than entrance bays. After the fire of 1855 the old prayer-hall was enlarged and converted into the library with fireproof construction, and the collection of portraits belonging to the College was hung on its walls.

The reconstruction of Nassau Hall after the fire, and the beginning of the Halsted Observatory were the only building operations carried on in Dr. Maclean's administration. The next building era came under President McCosh, and his administration likewise laid the foundations of the modern equipment of the University. Thirteen buildings were erected during his presidency, and it is difficult now to see which might have been omitted.

The equipment when Dr. McCosh came to Princeton had made a brave showing in the annual catalogue; but he ruthlessly cut the description down from a page of fine print to a single paragraph, and then omitted it altogether until he considered it once more worthy of notice. By 1888 the collections had become valuable, a change which dates from the founding of the E. M. Museum of Geology and Archeology in 1874 and the receipt of gifts from the Smithsonian Institution through Joseph Henry. The central and eastern wings of Nassau Hall were now given over to the collection in geology, paleontology, and archeology. The Guyot collection of glacial boulders, a collection of New Jersey and New York typical rocks and fossils, occupied a special room. The mineralogical collection contained about twenty-six hundred specimens, while the paleontological collection filled two halls and an extensive gallery and, omitting duplicates, numbered about nine thousand specimens. In the

archeological collection were specimens of stone, bronze, and flint implements, early Mexican and Peruvian pottery, and a number of Indian relics, besides the Sheldon Jackson ethnological collection from Alaska and New Mexico. Connected with the museum were lecture and work rooms. The physical laboratory in the school of science building now possessed the instruments of precision required for experimental courses. The chemical laboratory in the same building was fully equipped but overcrowded. Every square foot of room in the school of science building was occupied, a condition unrelieved until the erection of the Seventy-seven Biological Laboratory in 1887-1888 and the Chemical Laboratory in 1891.

During President Patton's administration, and especially after the sesquicentennial the campus not only was greatly enlarged, but received more care than ever before. New buildings followed one another rapidly, and although no systematic plan for the development of the campus was as yet being followed, nevertheless the decision on the collegiate gothic style of architecture was a long step in the direction of harmonious improvement. The list of buildings belonging to this administration has been given in an earlier chapter and need not be repeated; but it may be pointed out that the emergence of the modern style of dormitory architecture, and the grading and planting of the campus that accompanied it were only one of the characteristics of this period of constructive activity. Equipment for varied higher work in science grew fast, and special laboratories, such as the Seventy-seven Biological Laboratory, the magnetic observatory for the school of electrical engineering, and the Chemical Laboratory prepared the way for the greater laboratories of the present decade, the Palmer Physical Laboratory and Guyot Hall. It was becoming

evident, however, that the time for definite consideration of the future development of the campus was at hand.

We have already seen that Professor Henry designed the first plan looking to this end. The quadrangle principle that he laid down was not adhered to in locating subsequent buildings, although, through the good fortune which in the main has watched over the campus, only two changes have been forced upon the trustees' committee on grounds and buildings since Dr. McCosh's day. One was the removal of the outgrown chapel, and the other was the taking down of East College to give way to the University library, whose location was predetermined by that of the Chancellor Green Library. It seems a pity that Dr. McCosh's advisers should have counseled the placing of the Chancellor Green Library where it is. For not only did this decision mar the symmetry of the front campus, but it necessitated the sacrifice of the historic old Philosophical Hall so long associated with the work of Professor Henry; and it compelled, in Dr. Patton's administration, the doom of the Old Chapel and East College, when the growth of the library demanded a new and larger building. Uncontrolled as to following set lines, the position of buildings was guided chiefly by the natural grades and contours of the campus, resulting in what has been called the " park scheme " of scattering units through a park, amid trees and shrubbery. The erection of the Library, Blair, and Little meant the abandonment of the " park scheme," and the appointment later of Mr. Ralph Adams Cram as supervising architect for the University, led to the adoption of the so-called "university scheme," whereby buildings become part of one great co-ordinated whole, centering about or depending on one central

motive. For some years after this, accordingly, in consistent architectural growth Princeton had scarcely a rival among American universities.

The central motive of the Princeton campus is patently Nassau Hall and the great quadrangle behind it. Looking across this fair space, the scene of so much campus daily life, past the cannon and between the Halls, one has an unbroken vista to the south over rolling farm lands and wooded hollows, down toward the blue Navesink Hills and the invisible sea, thirty miles or more away. At right angles to this natural axis runs another, starting at the Tiger Gateway between Blair and Little, passing behind the towering bulk of Witherspoon, and the gaunt corner of Edwards, the classic marble of Clio and Whig, and the attractive little cloister-close of Murray-Dodge to end finally in McCosh Walk. The older portion of the campus lies north of this line. Along the main axis and west of it are set all but one of the campus dormitories, a fact which explains why at night one side of the campus shows bright with lights and cosy window-scenes, while the other is wrapped in thick darkness, save where some belated worker is at his task in a seminary-room or in his laboratory. For east of this main axis lie the chapel, the recitation halls, the libraries, museums, and laboratories. Below, as the ground falls away toward Lake Carnegie, are the playing-fields, divided for a few rods at least by the line of trees still marking the old stage-coach road from the Junction on the railroad up the three miles to College.

Enough has been indicated in previous chapters to account for the spell that Nassau Hall casts about the hearts of those who own thoughtful allegiance to Princeton. To-day both the serious and the lighter sides of the University's life meet at this focal point, the one

within and the other without its walls. Devoted entirely now to administrative purposes, save for the suite of rooms on the top floor occupied by the psychological laboratory, Nassau Hall contains the offices of all the executive, judicial, and legislative officials of the University, except the treasurer and the secretary of the business administration, who are quartered in the University Offices Here are the offices of the president, the secretary of the university, and the registrar, the redoubtable guardian of attendance and scholastic records; the offices of the dean of the college, and the dean of the graduate school. Here the most important committees of the faculty sit, and undergraduates are tried who jeopardize their academic lives by breach of college rules of discipline or scholarship. The remodeled and refurnished prayer-hall is now the Faculty Room, with tiers of oak benches on each side, and oak-paneled walls covered with the college portraits. This is the robing-room for all Princeton academic processions; hence they make their radiant departure and hither their glad return.

Outside of Nassau Hall, the front steps flanked by giant bronze tigers are the scene of senior singing on spring evenings, the scene that comes back first to a Princetonian's mind and fades away last. From the steps is delivered on Class Day the Ivy Oration, with which each class adds its gift to the vines already covering the old brown walls. Beneath the elms in front of Nassau Hall the graduates gather by classes on Commencement Day to march to the alumni luncheon as members of the Alumni Association of Nassau Hall.

Up in the cupola, the bell still clangs unheeded in the morning for rising, and later brings men out to chapel and lectures; and at nine o'clock in the evening

it rings for curfew—Princeton's oldest "old custom," and now only the good-night echo of a long discarded law; freshmen still steal its clapper, and get caught by the proctor; it sounds high above the roar of athletic celebrations; it tolls for college funerals. On the flagstaff over the entrance to Nassau Hall the national colors fly on national holidays, at commencement, and on Princeton's two historic dates, October 22 and January 3.

Next to Nassau Hall in historic interest is the former residence of the president, built simultaneously with Nassau Hall, and now the official residence of the dean of the faculty. In this simple home-like house have lived all presidents of Princeton from Burr to McCosh; and in it Burr, Edwards, and Davies died. It is the house in the engraving of the campus as it was in 1764. In its dining room in 1774 young Mr. John Adams on his way to Congress drank a glass of wine with Dr. Witherspoon to a toast whose sentiment is not recorded but is easily guessed; and there can be no doubt that Washington more than once crossed its threshold. One of its study windows testifies to associations less august; for it could have been on no very serious occasion one day in 1804 that two hearts pierced by an arrow, together with the names of three young ladies—Dr. Witherspoon's daughter Frances among them—and those of a professor and two undergraduates, Henry Kollock (1794), Thomas J. Percy (1806), and James Rush (1805), were scratched on the glass and dated. Mr. Kollock was at this time professor of theology.

West of Nassau Hall is the University library, consisting of two buildings, the Chancellor Green Library and the Pyne Library, connected by a delivery hall which contains the card catalogue and also forms the main entrance. The Chancellor Green building is the University

working room for undergraduates, and contains a large collection of reference books and the standard and latest works in all departments. A memorial alcove in classical philology is a tribute to Charles Ewing Green of the class of 1860, for many years a trustee, and as administrator of the John C. Green estate a generous benefactor of the University. The Trustees Room in the Chancellor Green Library, where the meetings of the board are held, has recently been remodeled and richly beautified as a further memorial to this devoted alumnus. The Pyne Library, the gift of the late Mrs. Percy Rivington Pyne, has a shelving capacity of over a million volumes, besides administration rooms, seminaries, and an exhibition room. It forms a hollow square of about one hundred and sixty feet. The general collection occupying the united building consists at present in round numbers of three hundred and six thousand volumes and seventy-six thousand unbound pamphlets. There are some twenty different special collections in the library, such as the Morgan Virgils; the Autograph-Manuscript Collection relating chiefly to the history of the University, of which the nucleus is the Pyne-Henry Collection, formed by M. Taylor Pyne and Bayard Henry (1877); the Pierson Civil War Collection (over 6600 volumes, 2500 pamphlets, and several thousand clippings); the Princeton University Collection (6000 volumes), which includes the remarkable collection of Princetoniana made by Colonel William Libbey (1877); the Garrett Collection of Oriental Manuscripts; the class of 1875 Library of English Poetry and Drama; the cuneiform documents, the Patterson Horace collection, the Hutton collection of death masks, and the Hutton Memorial collection of several hundred association books, autographed portraits, paintings, etc. Ten seminaries (philosophy, economics, political science,

classics, English, Romance languages, Germanic languages, mathematics, history, Semitics, are maintained in the building, each with its special working collection; that of the classical seminary being especially large; and besides these, in the corresponding laboratories and museums are working libraries in astronomy, biology, botany, geology and paleontology, engineering, and physics, while in the art museum is the large Marquand Library on the history of art.

Each of the Halls has a library of about six thousand volumes; each of the upperclass clubs has a library; and members of the University have the privilege of using the library of the Theological Seminary, a collection of about ninety-five thousand volumes, bringing the total number available, exclusive of pamphlets and duplicates, to a little over four hundred and fourteen thousand volumes.[1]

With the exception of the Halsted Observatory and the Psychological Laboratory, all the laboratories and museums are on the eastern side of the main campus. The Halsted Observatory is appropriated to scientific work chiefly in astronomical physics, and contains a Clark equatorial of twenty-three inches aperture and thirty feet focal length, and provided with the usual accessories. The building is in electric connection with the observatory of instruction. The latter, on Prospect Avenue, is devoted entirely to the use of students, and is equipped for work in practical astronomy.

The Psychological Laboratory is on the top floor of

[1] The growth of the Library is shown in the following table:

1756.. 474+	1816.. 7,000	1883.. 60,000	
1760..1,300	1839.. 8,000	1896..102,300	(+25,000 unbound)
1769..1,700+	1850.. 9,313	1906..205,600	(+55,000 unbound)
1796..2,300	1868..14,000	1913..306,200	(+76,000 unbound)
1802..3,000	1873..25,000		

Nassau Hall, and comprises a lecture room, a dark-room, several research rooms, the editorial offices of the *Psychological Review,* and a private library of several hundred volumes and periodicals.

When the Chemical Laboratory was completed in 1891, the entire department of analytical chemistry and mineralogy was transferred to it from the School of Science building. The laboratory was planned after careful study of many of the best laboratories at home and abroad. In twenty years, however, the department has outgrown it. The top floor is devoted mainly to the laboratory of inorganic chemistry and quantitative analysis. Lecture halls with preparation rooms adjoining, private laboratories, and a laboratory for quantitative analysis occupy the second floor. Physical and analytical chemistry and further private laboratories fill the ground floor. The laboratories in organic chemistry now occupy what was the Seventy-seven Biological Laboratory, the biological departments having been transferred to Guyot Hall.

The erection of the Palmer Physical Laboratory in 1908 gave the departments of physics and electrical engineering a building as perfectly equipped as the latest developments in physical science could demand. Here all the university courses in those subjects are conducted. Besides lecture rooms, smaller recitation rooms, a library, and a museum, it contains several private laboratories, each fully equipped, special rooms for professors, and for research students, machine shops, storage battery, charging and switchboard rooms, a chemical laboratory and Roentgen ray, constant temperature, balance, photographic, and photometric rooms, four storage batteries of sixty cells each, refrigerating, liquid air, and hydrogen plants, wiring for direct and alternating cur-

rents, and a vacuum and pressure system leading to all parts of the building. It may be gathered that the equipment for lecture purposes, laboratory work, and private research is extensive. Altogether the three floors of Palmer Laboratory give an area of about two acres for instruction and research. The building has an endowment enabling it to purchase supplies, construct new apparatus, and, in short, satisfy the general scientific needs of the departments.

The School of Electrical Engineering abandoned its small building on the completion of the Palmer Physical Laboratory and transferred its quarters to the latter, where its members have full use of all the equipment the laboratory offers, besides a quantity of special apparatus. Rooms here are set aside for precise electrical measurements and for electro-chemistry and high temperature work. The dynamo building contains a complete outfit of electrical machinery, and is given over entirely to experimental work and machine testing. Arc and incandescent lamps are so arranged that the various systems of distribution may be studied. Besides this special equipment the University power plant, which heats and lights the University buildings, is available, with its entire equipment of motors, generators, transformers, etc., for the use of students of the School of Electrical Engineering in experimental study and commercial applications.

The natural science departments of the University are centralized in Guyot Hall. This great building, named after Professor Arnold Guyot, was erected in 1909 on the southerly slope of the campus below the Palmer Laboratory, and beyond it, fields, woods, and brooks extend down to Lake Carnegie, affording excellent opportunities for the biological gardens and vivaria, which

are to come. The size of the building may be judged from the fact that, like Palmer Laboratory, it offers a total serviceable floor space of about two acres. In its construction the approved features of the most modern laboratories were adopted. The departments of biology, and geology occupy nearly equal portions of the building with certain rooms in common, such as the museum, a public lecture hall, and a general library and reading-room. The museum, with a floor-space area of over nineteen thousand square feet, occupies the entire first floor. The library, with its reading-room and book stacks, containing the working libraries of the biological and geological sciences, has a capacity at present of ten thousand volumes.

In the natural science portion of the museum on the main floor are the collections of the old E. M. Museum of geology and archeology, the museum of biology, the morphological museum, and the mineralogical museum from the school of science. The zoological collection is especially rich in osteological and ornithological material, the latter for example including some sixteen thousand individual bird-skins mounted and unmounted, and about four thousand sets of eggs, mostly in nests. In the morphological collection are about two thousand six hundred preparations, which number is being added to at the rate of some three hundred a year. The histological collection consists of thirty thousand mounted microscopical specimens, five thousand of which are in paraffin blocks. The botanical collection includes a local collection representing New Jersey on four thousand sheets, forty thousand sheets of plants from different parts of the United States, South America, Europe, and Asia, and some ten thousand sheets of mosses.

The geological portion of the museum is arranged to show the structure of the earth, the history of the earth, and the ancient life of the earth. The cases around the main halls form a series of small rooms, each of which is devoted to a period of geological time, and the enclosed exhibit consists of rocks, fossils, maps, and labels illustrating or descriptive of the period. In another part of the hall are the exhibits of the ancient life of the earth, including several fossil skeletons of tertiary mammals mounted in lifelike positions. The gallery contains the archeological and ethnological exhibits. Teaching collections are kept in the various laboratories, and in addition there are reserve collections for advanced study and research, and collections accumulated during investigations prosecuted by members of the department.

The museum is as far as the average visitor gets into the building; but to the student of science the special feature of Guyot Hall, as of the Palmer Laboratory, is the arrangement of its suites of laboratories, and the equipment it offers for advanced scientific work. The suites are ten in number, each assigned to a distinct subject. Besides these major laboratories there are rooms for graduate students and independent investigators, conference rooms, a club-room, machine shops, curatorial and preparation rooms, and finely equipped photographic quarters. Special rooms have been designed for seismographic and meteorological stations. In all, one hundred and three rooms are devoted to the work of the departments of science.

The geological laboratories occupy half the building, and are divided into various suites assigned to structural geology, petrology and economic geology, mineralogy, physical geography, stratigraphy, and invertebrate paleontology, and vertebrate paleontology. In addition

there are several rooms for special investigators, and a large graduate laboratory. The illustrative work of the department has a series of rooms designed for it, such as an artist's studio, photographic studio, dark rooms, etc.

The biological laboratories in the other half of Guyot Hall comprise the library, laboratories, research rooms and conference rooms of the departments of zoology, physiology, and botany. The zoological, anatomical, and histological laboratories include several classrooms equipped as lecture laboratories, a number of private research rooms, preparation, photographic and store rooms, besides a chemical laboratory and an artist's studio. Similarly the physiological laboratory contains lecture laboratories, research rooms, photographic rooms, etc., and is located close to the animal rooms and vivaria. The botanical laboratory is equipped in like fashion, and controls a greenhouse and vivarium affording at all seasons a considerable variety of land, fresh water, and marine plants for study. It is hoped that in the near future the extensive grounds south of Guyot Hall may be laid out in botanical gardens, and an arboretum. The vivarium enables a number of plants and animals to be kept under observation; concrete aquaria are devoted half to sea water and half to fresh water; several rooms contain cages for insects, reptiles, birds, and mammals, and there are the necessary research rooms, photographic and other conveniences. A biological pond has been formed by damming up a brook, and, as they are needed, various cages and retreats are being established along the brook and in the woods, where animals may be kept and studied under natural conditions.

Northwest of the Palmer and Guyot Halls lie the gardens of "Prospect," the official residence of the presi-

dent of the University since 1878. The mansion dates only from 1849, but it replaced the old stone farm-house of Colonel George Morgan, Indian agent in Revolutionary times, and an early Western explorer. When Colonel Morgan was at home he was a gentleman farmer, and to his estate he gave its name—one which the view from the upper terraces of the old garden fully justifies. The place has shared in much of the picturesque side of Princeton's history. Here the Delaware chieftains pitched their tents when they came to visit their friend Colonel Morgan, a second Taimenend or Tammany, as they called him, and here in his household they left the three boys mentioned elsewhere in these pages. Here the mutineers of the Pennsylvania line encamped in 1781, and held their parley with the congressional envoys. Here in 1783 Congress itself sat for a day or two before moving into Nassau Hall. And here in later times presidents of the United States have been entertained, and one has lived. There is naturally a constant stream of distinguished visitors, and guests of the University passing through its doors. A guest book of "Prospect" from the beginning of its history would read like the catalogue of a hall of fame.

Just outside the western borders of the gardens of "Prospect" is the Museum of Historic Art. This building, which still lacks the wings that are to complete it, contains on the upper floor the Marquand library of some six thousand volumes on the history of art, a collection of about forty-five thousand photographs, and some five thousand lantern slides illustrating classical and medieval archeology, and continually being added to. This floor also contains reproductions of Greek and Roman coins, a collection of bronze medals and casts of ivories from the Roman to the Gothic period, a series of casts from

the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, and a small collection of paintings. One room is devoted to the exhibitions of the Princeton expeditions to Syria. The main floor is occupied principally by the Trumbull Prime collection of ceramics, and the Livingston collection of pottery, which is especially rich in material illustrating the early history of the country. A selected collection of casts of ancient and medieval sculpture is displayed on the walls of the staircase and in the basement. The entire work of the department of art and archeology with the exception of the lectures—the missing wings of the building are to contain the lecture rooms—is carried on in the Museum.

Coming out of the entrance-gate to " Prospect " one finds on the left hand the little group of buildings known as Murray-Dodge, and on the right Marquand Chapel. About these structures centers the religious life of the University. Marquand Chapel was the gift of the late Henry G. Marquand, Esq. Its cornerstone was laid in 1881. The mural and window decorations are notable, the reliefs of President McCosh, Joseph Henry, Arnold Guyot, and James O. Murray, first dean of the College, being especially striking. The Guyot tablet is set in a fragment of a Swiss glacial boulder presented by his native city, Neuchatel. Other tablets are to the faculty of the early sixties, and to Princeton foreign missionaries killed in China in 1900, and in Turkey in 1909. The north, south, and west windows are memorial windows to deceased alumni.

Prayers are said in Marquand Chapel every weekday morning and each undergraduate must be present at least twice a week. On Sundays services are conducted by prominent clergymen, and every undergraduate must be present at least half of the Sundays in each quarter.

Failure to comply with these requirements renders him liable to suspension. The rule of compulsory chapel attendance is thus still enforced, though shorn of half of its rigor. On Sunday afternoons an optional vesper service is held. The active religious and social work of the University finds its organization in the Philadelphian Society, with headquarters in Murray-Dodge Hall, and in the St. Paul's Society, with headquarters in the Potter Memorial House of Trinity Parish. In Murray-Dodge are rooms for the religious meetings of the four college classes, a reading-room, an auditorium by no means confined to religious exercises, a reception hall, and apartments for the resident secretary. The privileges of the building are extended to all members of the University, and no denominational lines are drawn. Every Thursday special addresses are delivered by prominent and inspiring speakers, usually men who are engaged in active life of one sort or another, men who are "doing things." Besides the Sunday evening class meetings there are several Bible study groups and mission study classes. The Philadelphian Society manages the Princeton Town Club for men and boys of the town of Princeton, owns and conducts a summer camp for city boys, and mans and in part finances the "Princeton Work in Peking," established in 1906 as the Peking Y.M.C.A., five Princeton graduates conducting work for young men of the city, the Chinese students, and the foreign legation guards. While co-operative in every way with the general work of Murray-Dodge, the St. Paul's Society has as its particular charge a number of mission chapels in the vicinity of Princeton, where lay readers from the society conduct services every Sunday.

Turning attention from the religious activities of the

University to the bodily welfare of the students, it will be found that never have the health and general physical condition of the Princeton undergraduate been so carefully watched over as now. Each freshman on entering in the autumn undergoes a physical examination, and is required to take regular work in the gymnasium or outdoors under the supervision of the department of hygiene and physical education. Each freshman, moreover, must pass a test in swimming, and if he fails must join the swimming classes, where he is also instructed in the elementary methods of life-saving, etc. The outdoor work consists of games, and a variety of exercises. Athletics thus form a part of the curriculum. The aim of the work is to promote the general physical efficiency of the undergraduate. On the theoretical side, attendance on a course of lectures on personal hygiene is also required of freshmen. The most interesting phase of this official interest in properly regulated athletics is being shown in the intra-mural games and competition developed by the student committee in co-operation with the department of hygiene. The report of this department shows that during the year ending December 31, 1913, there were more than thirteen hundred men, counting duplications, taking part in these teams, crews, etc. This does not include contestants in individual championships, nor members of varsity squads.

Brokaw Field was provided by alumni subscription several years ago for the benefit of undergraduates not on University teams. It contains three baseball diamonds and a running track. Adjoining is Goldie Field, large enough for another baseball diamond, and two soccer fields. Close by are twenty-two tennis courts, and above them is the Brokaw Building erected in memory of Frederick Brokaw of the class of 1892, who lost his life at

Elberon, New Jersey, in 1891, while attempting to save a drowning girl. In this building is the swimming pool one hundred feet by twenty-five. Connected architecturally with the Brokaw Building is the Gymnasium, into which one enters through a large trophy hall decorated with athletic trophies of one kind or another. This hall also affords offices for the members of the department of hygiene and physical education, physical examination rooms, fencing, boxing, and wrestling rooms. The gymnasium proper is one hundred and sixty-six feet long by one hundred and one feet wide. About its walls is an elevated running track, twelve laps to the mile. Under the main floor are locker and dressing rooms, laboratories, showers, handball courts, etc.

The class of 1887 boathouse has just been completed on the shore of Lake Carnegie. It has accommodations for thirty-two shells, a workshop, locker rooms, club room, and an office for the rowing coach.

University Field, commonly known as the "Varsity Grounds," lies on Prospect Avenue, and is the scene of all University football, baseball, and track contests held in Princeton. Beside the baseball diamond and football fields, of which there are two, there are also a 220-yard straightaway, and a quarter-mile cinder track, and four buildings on the grounds, the cage for indoor winter baseball practice, the field house containing dressing rooms, lockers, and baths for the University and visiting teams, the grandstand, and the University Athletic Club house presented by Henry Fairfield Osborn of the class of 1877, containing training quarters, dining-rooms, bedrooms, baths, lounging rooms, etc., and a trophy room. The open stands were built by alumni subscription. The Ferris Thompson (1888) wall and gateway border University Field on Prospect Avenue, and another gate and

entrance are the gift of Mr. Cyrus Hall McCormick of the class of 1879.

For golfers, the Class of 1886 Memorial Building on the Golf Links is a clubhouse with showers, locker rooms, reception hall, and quarters for the use of members of the class when returning to Princeton for reunions.

Physical education, and supervised athletics, however, cannot prevent all sickness, and, healthful though the town of Princeton is, there is unavoidably a certain amount of illness incident to the University community. For the care of such cases and the treatment of minor dispensary cases the Isabella McCosh Infirmary was erected in 1892 as the University hospital. A small annual fee is charged to each student, in return for which in all cases of ordinary illness he is provided, free of further cost, with the necessary care, including board, nursing, laundry, and physician's fees. If an illness extends beyond a week board is charged at the rate the patient pays at his usual boarding-place. Ordinary consultation and treatment are given daily at the Infirmary by the University physician without charge. During the year 1912-1913, four hundred and thirty-nine patients were admitted to the Infirmary, of whom fifty-three were students in the Seminary, graduate students of the University, and members of the faculty. In the same year the number of dispensary patients, treated for all sorts of minor ailments, was four thousand seven hundred and sixty-five.

The daily undergraduate lectures and recitations take place in the laboratories—Palmer, Guyot, Chemical, and Seventy-seven, in the Observatory of Instruction, and in Dickinson and McCosh Halls. McCosh Hall, with its numerous lecture and preceptorial conference rooms, is over four hundred feet long, and occupies at present

one side of the square behind the Chapel, but eventually will extend around it. In the court of McCosh Hall is a replica of the Turnbull Sun Dial of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, presented in 1907 by Sir William Mather. There are in all nineteen dials on this remarkable monument, eighteen of which may be read all the year round—and even on cloudy days, if judicious use be made of the clock on the School of Science tower close by.

Before the erection of the First Presbyterian Church soon after the middle of the eighteenth century, commencement exercises were held in the college prayer-hall. After that until 1893, the exercises took place in the church. In this year Alexander Hall was presented to the University as an auditorium for commencement exercises, public lectures, concerts, and other University gatherings of a general sort. The rostrum, and baldachino are finished in colored marbles, and behind the rostrum is a row of mosaic wall pictures depicting scenes from Homeric story. Sculptures by J. Massy Rhind decorate the outside south wall beneath the large rose window.

The dormitory life so characteristic of Princeton, and formerly contained within Nassau Hall alone, is now scattered among seventeen university buildings and one private dormitory. Of the university dormitories all but two, Upper and Lower Pyne, are on the campus. These two are on Nassau Street. Hill Dormitory, the private building, is on University Place. All of the dormitories are heated by steam and lighted by electricity, and in addition almost all the studies, with the exception of those in Reunion, have fireplaces. Every entry in the dormitories has shower bath and other toilet facilities. The rooms are classified by annual rentals,

without heat and light, into eight groups, ranging from eighteen dollars for a single room to a few double rooms at three hundred dollars or over. Single rooms consist ordinarily of a bedroom and study, and double rooms of two bedrooms and a common study.

Now that Nassau Hall is no longer used for dormitory purposes, the oldest dormitory is West College, dating from 1836. It forms one side of the main quadrangle behind Nassau Hall, and has no architectural distinction. Window boxes added in recent years give to its severe lines at certain seasons of the year a brightening touch of color. The University store, a co-operative association, has a large and busy home on the ground floor. Membership in the store is open to all on payment of a small fee. The store deals in text-books, stationery, athletic goods, toilet articles, Princeton souvenirs, confectionery, etc. A regular discount is given to members, and an annual dividend is paid, based on the total amount of a member's purchases.

Reunion Hall was erected in 1870, and received its name in commemoration of the reunion of the Old and New Schools of the Presbyterian Church. The fund for its erection was subscribed by members of both parties, and the cornerstone was laid by the officers of the General Assembly. It occupies approximately the former site of Professor Henry's residence, and was the first of Dr. McCosh's dormitories.

Witherspoon Hall, named after the president, follows Reunion in point of age, being built in 1877. It was considered an extraordinarily handsome and well appointed building in its day, and is still one of the most conspicuous edifices on the campus, being aided rather than injured by the proximity of Blair and Little. The contrast, however, between it and Reunion, which pre-

ceded it, or Edwards which followed it, illustrates perfectly the lack of systematic planning in architectural development of the campus that characterized the buildings of forty years ago.

Edwards Hall, also named after a president, was erected in 1880 to afford a number of plainer rooms than Witherspoon could supply, and because it was for a time alleged to be occupied largely by men of simpler living and higher thinking than others, it enjoyed for many years the self-explanatory and distinctive title of "Polers' Paradise." In these more enlightened days, when to be a hard student is not to be extraordinarily exceptional, not all the residents of Edwards are "polers" nor do all "polers" find their paradise there.

Dod and Brown Halls were further experiments in college architecture, showing Italian influences, Brown especially bearing a faint resemblance to a well-known Florentine palace. Brown Hall is situated on the edge of Prospect gardens, which thus seem to be its own, and from its upper southern windows one gets charming views toward Lake Carnegie and beyond, over a countryside that contains many a suggestion of English landscape.

With Brown Hall experimentation ceased, and the builders of modern Princeton found themselves when Blair Hall, the sesquicentennial gift of the late John I. Blair, was designed, settling once for all the general style of future Princeton buildings. The same architects, Messrs. Cope and Stewardson, designed Little Hall. Here the irregular contour of the old playing-field which it encloses enabled the architects to use to even better advantage the low lines of the English collegiate Gothic, broken by towers, oriels, and recesses, and little courts, so that from the massive Gymnasium up to the noble

Blair Tower there is a succession of interesting, and to the artist instructive, bits of architecture. In fact, through the Blair extension this succession follows the irregular confines of the campus to the Halsted Observatory, where it comes to an abrupt stop, as if impatient for the day to dawn when the erection of a more modern observatory elsewhere will permit the removal of the structure of 1868, and the completion of the group of homogeneous buildings designed to supplant the Observatory and University Hall. Forming a court with Blair is Campbell Hall, the gift of the class of 1877, and on the other side of Campbell is Hamilton Hall named after the acting governor of 1746. This is part of the group planned for the corner of Nassau Street and University Place. Through the generosity of Mrs. Russell Sage, the larger of the two courts which will eventually complete this group is already built. The old trees inclosed in this court hint at an earlier life, and it was indeed near this spot that formerly stood the home of Nathaniel FitzRandolph. In the wall of the eastern entrance-arch his memorial tablet is placed. Rising high above the whole group is the great Holder Tower giving its name to the dormitory, a memorial to Christopher Holder, a Quaker ancestor of the donor. Facing the court, with its broad paved walks, its turf and clumps of shrubbery, is the cloister which will veil the wall of the dining-hall, and the common room that are to lie between the two courts. The sober dignity of the cloister, the shadowy vaulted passages that lead to Hamilton and Campbell, and the street, the leaded casement windows, the heavy slated roofs, the old trees, and the slender tower thrusting skyward its tiger-rampant pinnacles, all combine to make this one of the most attractive of the many interesting portions of the campus.

Below Brown, and overlooking the new tennis courts and Goldie Field, is to be another group of similar dormitories, two of which—Patton and Cuyler—are already erected. These were built principally by decennial gifts of alumni classes, ten classes each giving an entry in Patton, and three classes and individual alumni giving the six entries in Cuyler.

A different treatment of the same style is found in Seventy-nine Hall, erected by the class of 1879, and the only dormitory in the eastern portion of the campus. It is built of brick with trimmings of Indiana limestone, and has already acquired a rose-colored tone, which vines and shrubbery have helped to mellow and enhance. Its principal feature is the entrance arch and tower in the center of the building, facing directly down Prospect Avenue.

Many of the buildings just described are ornamented unobtrusively with grotesques which are worth a passing word. As one might expect the tiger motive is predominant, and in Seventy-nine is cleverly used with contorted monkeys modeled by Borglum in wonderful caricatures of life. McCosh Hall has a dozen grotesques more or less ironically associated with the scholastic purposes of the building. Here a half-back vainly endeavors to break away from the western wall; a dragon with a monk in his claws thrusts out a scaly neck at the Chapel; studious monks in cowl and gown pore over books whose pages they never turn; while other and more sportive friars in postures far from bookish follow other pastimes. Here an astronomer ceaselessly watches the north star through his telescope; elsewhere a chauffeur drives a motionless automobile, and a camera-fiend points his lens; brownie policemen and stony-hearted proctors wrestle with fractious collegians; and solemn-looking

owls in cap and gown make show of wisdom. The library, most of the dormitories, and even so unromantic an edifice as the Palmer Physical Laboratory, all bear whimsical carvings to reward the observer who is not blind to the lighter side of life.

The latest building on the campus remains to be mentioned. This is the graduate college or residential home of the graduate school. It is situated on the western portion of the campus, two-thirds of a mile from Nassau Hall. The group consists of Thomson College, which is the dormitory portion, the Cleveland Memorial Tower, the Pyne Tower, Wyman House, which is the residence of the Dean, and Procter Hall, which is the great dining hall. The purely residential nature of the group is thus evident. Thomson College forms the central quadrangle containing rooms for over a hundred students, besides kitchen, service quarters, breakfast rooms, common and reading room. As in the undergraduate dormitories, a single suite ordinarily contains a bedroom and study, while a double suite contains two bedrooms and a common study.

At the main gate of the quadrangle stands the Cleveland Tower, forty feet square, and one hundred and seventy-three feet high, containing in its base a high vaulted memorial chamber, in which it is hoped to place a statue of President Cleveland. Adjoining the dining hall is the Pyne Tower, presented by M. Taylor Pyne of the class of 1877, and containing the apartments of the master in residence, guest rooms, and the vestibule hall, which connects the common room and Procter Hall. West of the Pyne Tower is Procter Hall, the chief public room of the graduate college, measuring in the interior thirty-six by one hundred and eight feet. It was erected in memory of the donor's parents. The most

striking feature is the great memorial window, at the western end of the hall. The window symbolizes Christian Learning, and is executed in the manner of the fourteenth century.

It should be added that only the Swann bequest, and a portion of the Wyman legacy, and of the Procter gift have been expended on buildings. The large bulk of these gifts is reserved for fellowships, scholarships, and professorships.

X

THE COLLEGE SEASONS

The Communal Spirit of Dormitory Life. The Spirit of Organization. "Horsing." Opening of the College Year. The Halls. Senior Elections. Cane Spree. Football. The College in Midwinter. Midyear Examinations. The College at Work. Washington's Birthday. The Club Elections. College Expenses. Democracy. The Spring Term. Senior Singing. Commencement.

It may be hard, as President Wilson confessed in 1905 in what is one of the most successful of the many efforts to describe the elusive spirit of the Princeton campus,[1] to say whether the free comradeship and democracy of the life led amid the surroundings and associations alluded to in preceding chapters are cause or effect in relation to the influences which have made Princeton what it is. Nevertheless, there can be but little question that the conditions of that life, especially in its residential features—where each man has his own abode, yet shares as member of one great family in all the minor daily intimacies of hundreds living like himself; where he has but to step outdoors to find himself in pleasant gardens and never a trespasser or stranger; where he may stand beneath friends' windows and, unafraid of artificial etiquette, call up in the careless campus fashion, or may enter dozens of rooms whose doors are never locked nor their tobacco jars empty—there can be little question that the democracy of Princeton has been nurtured by the communal quality of the

[1] J. R. Williams, "Handbook of Princeton, with an Introduction by Woodrow Wilson," N. Y., 1905, p. xiv, etc.

dormitory system. " It is this community of feeling and action," wrote President Wilson in the description alluded to, " this sense of close comradeship among the undergraduates not only, but also between the undergraduates and the faculty, that constitutes the spirit of the place and makes its ideals and aspirations part of thought and action. It naturally follows, too, that graduates never feel their connection with the place and its life entirely broken, but return again and again to renew their old associations, and are consulted at every critical turn in its affairs. Such comradeship in affairs, moreover, breeds democracy inevitably. Democracy, the absence of social distinctions, the treatment of every man according to his merits, his most serviceable qualities, and most likable traits, is of the essence of such a place, its most cherished characteristic. The spirit of the place, therefore, is to be found in no one place or trait or organization; neither in its classrooms nor on its campus, but in its life as a whole. . . . It lives and grows by comradeship and community of thought; that constitutes its charm; binds the spirit of its sons to it with a devotion at once ideal and touched with passion; takes hold of the imagination even of the casual visitor, if he have the good fortune to see a little way beneath the surface; dominates its growth and progress; determines its future. The most careless and thoughtless undergraduate breathes and is governed by it. It is the genius of the place."

If it is hard to express in set terms the spirit of the Princeton campus, it is almost impossible to describe in any satisfactory way the life which that spirit permeates. The spirit is nothing new, it lurks between the lines of the 1786 diary and even in the letters and reminiscences of Leland. But the life, in all save its

dormitory characteristics, has changed. The eighteenth-century collegian's misadventures in Tarkington's "Cherry"[1] belong, of course, to a totally vanished age. The Princeton of the forties and fifties, as known to "His Majesty Myself"[2] or to "Mr. Christopher Katydid,"[3] is unrecognizable to the twentieth-century collegian. The life which "A Princetonian"[4] led in the early nineties seems curiously remote from that led but lately by "Deering at Princeton."[5] Even the "Princeton Stories,"[6] treating though they do of types and therefore more likely to be permanently true to campus life than specific scenes and incidents in a novel, nevertheless contain numerous details which the modern undergraduate does not comprehend; and they cannot reflect the latter-day complexity. But running through all these portrayals of Princeton, uneven though they are in quality, and differing in their setting, beside the never failing note of eager irrepressible youth, is also that of a communal democratic existence, the note of the Princeton dormitory life. In this closing chapter then no attempt shall be made to describe the day-to-day pursuits of the average modern undergraduate; they vary with each college generation. It is proposed merely to notice some of the more distinctive features of the life he takes part in, and to touch upon a few of the elements that enter into the composition of its spirit.

Time was when the campus settled itself, after Commencement Day, for a three months' drowse which was

[1] Booth Tarkington (1893).
[2] By W. M. Baker (1846).
[3] By J. T. Wiswall (1851).
[4] By James Barnes (1891).
[5] By Latta Griswold (1901).
[6] By J. L. Williams (1892).

broken only by the chatter of Hibernian charwomen in the buildings and the rat-a-plan of carpet beaters under the trees. In still remoter days there were usually a few students from the far south or southwest who spent the vacation in Princeton because of the expense of transportation to their homes or because of the pleasanter climate of the north. The vacuum cleaner has done away with the carpet beater, and the lonely student on vacation has given place to student workers on the College farm, to members of the faculty trying to catch up with private work, and to backward entering men and undergraduates preparing to remove conditions at the examination set for the last week or two of the long vacation. Dormitories are closed, but the libraries, museums, and laboratories remain open; the University tennis courts are kept in use; and the campus is no longer quite deserted during the summer. Then one day suddenly the town begins to fill up, the local stores and markets freshen their displays, official announcements appear on University bulletin boards, and on a certain September afternoon the College bell breaks forth into unwonted clamor as if eager to resume its duties; an academic procession files out of Nassau Hall on its way to Marquand Chapel, and the opening exercises of the hundred and sixty-oddth year; and a huge piece of machinery starts into life again. For, as may be readily supposed, the chief difference between the life of the campus to-day and the life of earlier times, or even of twenty-five years ago, is the complexity and highly developed organization of the present, as compared with the former monotonous simplicity. The daily routine used to consist of an ever recurring round of attendance at chapel, recitation, and refectory, ushered in by a rising bell at one end of the day and closed by curfew at the other, with two or

three hours' liberty between whiles and occasional stolen visits to local refreshment dispensaries.

Nowadays, owing to the mere physical fact that the student body has outgrown the seating capacity of chapel and there is not room for the whole college together, the undergraduate is required to be present at compulsory prayers but two mornings per week. He is expected to attend his scheduled class exercises, but he may absent himself from them forty-nine times in two consecutive terms—on his fiftieth absence he meets his doom in the office of the dean; he may consume ice cream soda before breakfast and all day long if he wishes; he may even drink a glass or two of beer; and provided he observes a few simple rules of conduct and attendance he may order as he pleases his comings in and goings out; he is master of his own time. But if he is neither an extremist nor a fool, and if his college schedule is insufficient to keep him continuously employed, and he has mental alertness or surplus energy to spare, he can find a dozen legitimate interests with which to exercise his wits and crowd his time. Indeed it is a question whether this college community, given its limitation of size and its closely knit composition, is not in danger of suffering from over-organization in the abundance of its interests. For the spirit of organization has gripped the life of the modern Princeton undergraduate. While on the one hand, the tendency in recent years on the intellectual side, as shown in the development of the curriculum and method of instruction, has been to give greater emphasis and depth and a more spontaneous and genuine vitality to fewer and more essential things, the trend of student life, on the other hand, has been to increase the multiplicity of extra-curriculum affairs, while at the same time in self-defense

systematizing their operation. This growing multiplicity of interests is most easily illustrated in sports. Whereas baseball, football, gymnastics, and track athletics were the only forms of college sport a couple of decades ago, now there are in addition soccer, rowing, golf, trap-shooting, swimming, tennis, water polo, hockey, basket-ball, wrestling, fencing, boxing, and cross-country running. It is only fair to add that with this increased zest for sports has developed also a keener interest in things intellectual. The average modern student plays harder; but he likewise studies harder.

In many ways the organizing spirit of the times has worked advantageously. For example, it has abolished the old iniquitous monopolies in money-making opportunities, and by concentrating the latter in the Bureau of Student Self Help has given men needing employment to see them through college, an equal chance to earn assistance. Similarly the centralization in the Press Club of newspaper service has eliminated, as far as undergraduate reporting at least is concerned, the reckless sensationalism of earlier times. But in other manifestations, less vital to be sure but not less indicative, the mechanizing spirit of the day strikes at spontaneity. Examples are the now customary and therefore perfunctory cheering of a lecturer at the end of the term, or the preliminary practice for senior singing.

A curious instance is the codification of "horsing," the institution which a casual observer would probably name as the most conspicuous feature of the opening days of the fall term. Horsing, the last relic of hazing and the still older "freshmanship," has one foot in the grave, and whether to bolster it during the remaining few years of its life or to end its misery at once is being discussed by the two highest courts of undergraduate

self-government, the Senior Council and the *Daily Princetonian*. It would seem as if the College had outgrown it, and that this ancient practice must soon be superseded by an unwritten code resting for its enforcement not on sophomore agency but on public opinion, by which a first-year man will be reminded, if need be, that he is, as the "Student's Handbook" puts it, "a freshman in the University and not an upperclassman in his preparatory school."[1] Ultimately, in an academic millennium which may not be so very far distant in this respect, there will be no more distinction between freshmen and the rest of the campus family than there is now between juniors and seniors.

In the meantime the Senior Council has issued a set of "Horsing Rules" which will some day seem as quaint as President Burr's code of "Laws and Customs." Not until one hour after the formal opening of the University in the autumn may "horsing" begin. It is not allowed off the campus save on University Place, nor in the rooms of any member of the University, nor in front of Chapel, nor in the vicinity of the dining halls and Murray-Dodge, nor on the platform of the railroad station. No longer, therefore, does the timid freshman dodge down the side streets of the town or furtively dart along in the shadow on his way to dinner in the evening. He knows exactly what are his safety zones and where his havens of refuge lie. As practiced at present "horsing" usually consists in urging freshmen to "hit it up" when going to recitations, to demanding that they entertain with song or speech, or to marching them in the "lockstep express" to commons. In procedure it is usually noisy, sometimes genuinely amusing, and always

[1] Since these lines were written the Senior Council has abolished "horsing" (April, 1914).

good-natured. Its advocates assert that it is too excellent a discipline to be utterly discarded. Its opponents reply that it is too childish to be longer tolerated even in its dying spasms.

" Horsing " itself lasts only ten days in the opening of the fall term, but freshman rules extend practically through the year. The particular regulations relating to dress have for the most part grown up since hazing was abolished. But rules of long standing forbid freshmen to wear the college colors in any form, or to smoke pipes or cigars in public, or to play ball on the campus save on Brokaw Field. As of old they are expected to give way to what President Burr's code called their " superiors." Until Washington's Birthday, they are expected to remain in their rooms after the curfew rings. One thing they may do, and they do it joyously and with a will: it is their duty to haul lumber for the gigantic bonfires around the cannon at times of athletic celebration. The democratizing effect of these rules is clear enough; in his black cap and jersey the school athletic star or classroom idol is indistinguishable from the freshman whose name has never got into the papers; the boy of the wealthy family looks no better than the struggling minister's son, working his way through college. Other rules dating from a remote past specify that marble playing is a junior prerogative, and top spinning in the spring a senior privilege, while juniors and seniors alike have the right to wear silk hats, a right never exercised save when the " gay young sophomore " of the campus song, emerges from his last examination, " safe in the junior class." Then he and his fellows, in beaver hats of ancient vintage, indulge in the favorite Princeton form of collective ebullition of feeling,—parading behind a drum and some form of

noise-making wind instrument. The regulations here mentioned are all listed in the " Student's Handbook," a convenient little publication issued for entering men by the Philadelphian Society and containing a quantity of helpful information and plenty of good advice.

The freshman's introduction to class solidarity occurs when the term is but a day old and he attends his class election in the Gymnasium. The freshman columns force their way into the building through the solid ranks of the sophomores and this constitutes the first of the three sophomore-freshman rushes. In the evening of the same day the annual cannon rush takes place, when the sophomores guard the big cannon and it is the freshmen's duty to reach the goal. Here the excitement is increased by the darkness and by the fact that the freshmen cohorts are massed at various points under the direction of the juniors and aim to strike the defenders together in converging lines of attack. The actual conflict lasts but three minutes by the official time-keeper's watch. Each side invariably claims the victory. The final encounter between the two lower classes occurs a few weeks later in connection with their annual baseball game.

But first-year men are not limited to the " Handbook " for their instruction in matters lying outside the curriculum, nor is entrance into college marked only by encounters with sophomores, although these seem to bulk so largely in the opening days of the term. Each has an " adviser " among the younger members of the faculty to whom he is encouraged to go with all or any of his perplexities; and experience has proved that a freshman has problems that tax the resourcefulness of the wisest adviser. His true introduction to College comes at the Murray-Dodge reception to the new-

THE STEPS

comers. Here a very different and a far more significant side of college life is shown. Representative upperclassmen in various spheres of college activity describe distinctive phases of campus life. The chairman of the Senior Council, or else the president of the senior class, explains the honor system and what it means in campus public opinion; the captain of the football team urges men to take their share of responsibility in their class teams, the editor-in-chief of the *Princetonian* outlines the method of candidacy for positions on the college publication. The president of the University usually speaks. The occasion is in fact a freshman mass meeting on the importance of using one's talents and of putting one's shoulder to the wheel.

Meanwhile the schedule of lectures and recitations is in full swing. Upperclassmen are taking estimates of their preceptors and are settling down to the term reading and the talk is of preceptorial assignments. The Senior Council, made up of leaders in college activities and representing all interests, scholarly, athletic, musical, dramatic, religious, literary, executive, has assumed its duties. A dozen organizations of serious intent like the Engineering Club, the Municipal Club, the Law Club, the Medical Club, the Chemical Club, the McCosh Club, are taking up their interests. And, besides these more formal groups, a number of smaller and almost unknown but thoroughly live gatherings of kindred spirits begin activity—small reading societies, informal debating clubs, and the like. The bulletin columns of the *Daily Princetonian* are filled with notices regarding this, that, or the other competitive position on the College publications. Announcement of trials for the University musical and dramatic clubs jostle notices of preceptorials in English poetry, lectures on Old Icelandic, readings in

honors French, and graduate courses in the philosophy of education. Recitations begin at 8.30 A.M., immediately after chapel and occupy the morning until 1.30 P.M. Afternoons are devoted to laboratory work, to reading, and to exercise, and by freshmen to compulsory athletics under the direction of the Department of Physical Education. The various teams and crews are at practice; the tennis courts and golf links are in constant use. It has been estimated that on an average afternoon in the early autumn not less than thirteen hundred undergraduates get some form of congenial exercise. The stretches of level turf between the various buildings are the scene of continuous ball playing—football punting in the fall and winter in an indigenous game that has no name and only one or two rules and which is replaced when the baseball season comes around by knocking out grounders and flies. Interclass athletic championships are being played off, the only occasion in which general public interest is at all keen being the sophomore-freshman baseball contest. This is the closing game in the interclass series and is generally a brief one and conducted amid disconcerting circumstances. The very fact, however, that in the course of the year about one hundred and fifty teams, crews, etc., compete in intramural contests without any gallery to applaud them, marks the development of the new spirit in athletics—that of sport for sport's sake. Onlookers of course still attend football practice, but the majority of undergraduates are participating too actively in some form of athletics themselves to be able to spend much time on the bleachers.

One night early in the autumn the precincts of the two Halls re-echo with unfamiliar noises, and scores of neophytes may be seen being led by devious paths to the

Halls for initiation. Just why initiation into these literary societies should be accompanied by the processes that usually are connected therewith no one knows; but if the tales of college gray-heads may be believed the rites of initiation to-day are not so severe a test of a neophyte's fitness as they used to be. The institution of a course of public speaking and debate in the Halls, conducted by the Department of English, for Hall men and accepted as a part of the regular freshman curriculum, has served to increase the membership which had latterly fallen. The forensic interests of the University are monopolized by the Halls. Besides the customary Hall prizes for oratory, debating, and writing, the leading college prizes such as the Lynde Debate Medals, and the Junior Orator Medals are open to competition only to Hall contestants. Positions on intercollegiate debating teams are open to all undergraduate members of the University, but it is seldom that a non-Hall man is a contestant. In addition to the course in public speaking and debate, the student entering a Hall may follow the regular Hall course beside gaining in the weekly business meetings experience in parliamentary law and the conduct of deliberative bodies. If he fulfills all the requirements, he receives a diploma of graduation. Besides their literary exercises and their business meetings, the Halls afford the use of libraries, reading rooms, and billiard rooms, and in spite of their lessened relative prominence in campus life they have maintained all their old independence and tradition and adapting themselves to the new conditions they offer a better and more unique opportunity than ever to men who are so inclined.

It has been stated that a freshman's initiation into class solidarity takes place at the time of the class election soon after the term begins. The other classes

organize later in the autumn. The most important election is obviously that of the senior class and a multiplicity of regulations has grown up to control the event. The presidency of the senior class is the foremost office in college. The class secretary acquires leading importance as soon as the class is graduated. On him depends in the years to come the maintenance of the class spirit and organization. He is the official link between the class and the alumni body. He is the class representative on the Graduate Council. He issues all class notices, preserves all class records, and publishes the class histories. And with the president of the class he is usually at the head of reunion committees. At the senior elections are also chosen the commencement officers and committees. Modern methods have vastly improved the old-time machinery, and senior elections are no longer the interminable and riotous proceedings they used to be, but are run off in a businesslike manner that causes scarcely a ripple on the surface of academic life.

There are still a few things of which the businesslike spirit of the times has not been able to alter the spontaneous character. One of these is the cane spree, a picturesque night scene in the late autumn, staged on the natural arena between Alexander Hall and Witherspoon. This contest, now approaching its fiftieth anniversary, is an odd survival of the rule that freshmen may not carry canes. At first a rough and tumble daylight scramble or "spree," in Nassau Street when the sophomores used to attempt to wrest canes from parading freshmen, the occasion was soon regulated, and champions were chosen to represent the classes. Beginning with 1876 three pairs of spreers were selected—light, middle, and heavy weight—and the contest was held on the present arena. Next, the general spree which followed each bout was

dropped and a rush substituted until in the end of the eighties, abuses having arisen, the whole affair was abolished. Restored a few years later and shorn of all picturesqueness it was held by daylight at University Field, and then in the Gymnasium. But latterly it has been set back amid the appropriate surroundings of the historic spreeing ground, in the midst of a thick ring of cheering supporters, and under a late autumn moon. The canes, it may be said, are stout hickory sticks an inch or so in diameter and about three feet long.

But in striking contrast to the spontaneity of the cane spree may be placed the annual Yale or Harvard football game, when a crowd of thirty or forty thousand people descends on the community for a few hours and swamps it. College exercises are perforce abandoned; the village bravely puts on gala dress; there is an hour or so of nerve-straining excitement; then magically with the waning light of the November afternoon the crowd vanishes; and it takes the College and village a week or two to recover. This is not Princeton, although it is the only Princeton so many visitors know; it is an unnatural episode in the quiet life of the place, forced upon it by the development of modern intercollegiate athletics.

The first heavy fall of snow used to be full of peril to freshmen. Getting to recitation meant running the gauntlet of snowballs innumerable in varying states of hardness, and the fact that the average snowball missed its mark, made the experience none the less exciting. Pitched battles were sometimes arranged, and late on a wintry afternoon the lower classes poured from recitation and would fight it out on the front campus until nightfall, while upperclassmen and the town looked on. After these battles drug stores and doctors' offices would be thronged for plaster and liniment, and chapel the

next morning looked like an emergency hospital. But systematic snowballing and snowball fights have been abolished, and windows near entries to recitation halls get broken now by snowballs tossed around more in fun than with any set purpose. Snow means the close of the outdoor season, but it does not mean the ending of sports, for in the gymnasium and the Brokaw tank, week after week, indoor meets and contests, intercollegiate and intramural, follow one another ceaselessly. But one must not be misled into believing that these are the only, or even the predominant activities that occupy the afternoons and evenings of the long winter months. A glance down the column of the *Weekly Bulletin* indicates partially the variety of extra-curriculum interests that make these months the busiest of the year. Orchestral concerts and musical recitals of various sorts are frequent through the winter, to which undergraduates are admitted either free or at a reduced rate. There is a whole array of University lectures open to all without charge. Lectures and meetings of one kind or another, illustrated and not, find room in the schedule and draw their audiences to Alexander Hall, McCosh, Murray-Dodge, or the Palmer Laboratory lecture rooms. Departmental clubs and societies meet regularly, supported by members of the faculty and graduate students.

But the *Weekly Bulletin* cannot even partially reflect the University at work. Pause some evening beneath the windows of any dormitory on the campus—the buildings are low and the curtains are never drawn. From one room comes the rapid clicking of a typewriter where someone is getting out a report or an essay, or it may be is doing copy work; in another room are three or four men hotly arguing some triviality of college politics; across the way a talking machine is reproducing the

latest Broadway success; elsewhere an impromptu quartet of piano, violin, guitar, and mandolin is reminding nobody of the Kneisels or the Flonzaleys, although the performers are in deadly earnest. But you will notice that in a majority of the rooms, men are apparently doing the work one is ordinarily supposed to go to college for. Over at the " jigger shop " and at the various counters and refreshment places on the street underclassmen are absorbing the eatables which so worried ancient faculties. At the " Nass," as the old tavern is now familiarly called, probably a few who have signed their names and given their age are drinking beer; but drinking is not popular and for minors who state their age truthfully is practically an impossibility now at Princeton, owing to the State law and the University's support in its local enforcement. The University does not assume to prohibit drinking, for the simple reason that prohibition by the University is not enforceable. But it does attempt to discourage drinking, and especially to destroy the notion that drinking is a necessary or even a useful accomplishment; and it is succeeding in this effort to a degree never before approached. Taken all in all, it is a clean, wholesome life that one observes, with plenty of serious work being done. Dr. Maclean remarked that collegians were not angels in his day; and they are not angelic yet, or proctors would have to seek other employment. But the significant thing about the campus to-day compared with the life of not so many years ago is that through the plastic buoyant carelessness of youth is running a marked strain of seriousness which often produces whimsical contrasts, but which reflects in part at least the vitalizing of scholastic work and the passing of the former undergraduate view that earnestness of purpose and effort

was scarcely to be expected of a man in his four pleasant years of college.

During the midyear examination period the talking-machines are silent, and lights burn far into the night, " Poler's recess " is still celebrated when curfew rings at nine, and from a hundred suddenly opened windows there breaks forth a din of pistol shots, horn blowing, and cat-calls, which would have set frantic the vice-president and tutors of other times. A few minutes later, quiet reigns once more and the feast of syllabi continues with as much avidity as of yore. For, in spite of the higher standards and the improved general average of work, it would be absurd to pretend that everyone is a hard student during the term. Accordingly, there is still the desperate cramming and the feverish, remorseful absorption of tabloid information just before an examination. The preceptorial method has done what the lecture method never could do; it has not only pointed out to the undergraduate that his acquisition by reading for himself in a course is of more real and permanent value to him than the mere listening to lectures on the course, but it has changed his attitude toward intellectual effort to such an extent that the student who studies during the term is no longer one of an insignificant minority, but belongs to the majority; the very word " poler " has dropped from campus vocabulary. Nevertheless the preceptorial method is no educational panacea, nor is Princeton's undergraduate department yet a college of honors candidates only. Far from it. The " mortality " after midyear examinations is proof enough of that. The gulf, however, which used to be fixed between the few who came to Princeton with serious intentions and those who came merely to enjoy the life and engage in anything rather than proper

attention to scholastic duties, has been filled. The Phi Beta Kappa records show that extra-curriculum activities and honors fall to high-stand men as much as, if not proportionately more than, to those who in scholarship merely keep their heads above water. All the trend of recent legislation has been toward the recognition of scholarship and intellectual endeavor and the obliteration of loafing. Freshmen just out of school are assigned to advisers and frequent " tests " or brief examinations act as a constant drive toward maintenance of standing. To upperclassmen the final special honor plan offers the incentives of special consideration and of increased liberty of intellectual effort. And, beginning with the year 1914-1915, upperclassmen of a certain standing will cease to be checked up in their classroom attendance. Absences will be no longer charged against them. It will be taken for granted that they will be the last men to neglect their college duties. The revolutionary nature of this step, so far as Princeton is concerned, will be recognized when it is remembered that since the founding up to the present time attendance on class exercises has been required and recorded. This step is a recognition of the responsibility of scholarship and an earnest of the time to come when a stigma will be attached to the fact that a man's presence or absence at class exercises has to be noted because he is not sufficiently responsible to have won exemption from surveillance.

The change in undergraduate attitude toward college work that this step recognizes is further illustrated by the reception accorded the new plan of final special honors, now in the first year of its operation. By this plan, it will be remembered, graduation honors are open only to those who at the beginning of junior year are, by their high standing, eligible to candidacy and who an-

nounce their intention to try for final honors. Candidates may take one course less than the rest of the class, but the work planned for them is of a higher type, is more intensive in its method, and extends through the last two years of the course. It was to be expected that the plan would be accepted somewhat gingerly at first, for the undergraduate is a chary animal and constitutionally suspicious of gift-bearing Greeks; and yet events proved that fifty-eight per cent. of the men eligible at the opening of the year 1913-1914 elected to become candidates for honors under this new and untried plan. Not an extraordinary percentage perhaps, but a significant one for an initial result.

Midyear examinations are no sooner past than Washington's Birthday is celebrated—not with the old leaven of underclass malice and wickedness, but with a decorum that is almost painfully solemn. As we have seen, Washington's Birthday used to be the last opportunity for sophomore-freshman expressions of mutual antipathy. The "horsing" rules have done away with this and none of the objectionable features that used to mar the day (and at the same time provide the interest) remains. Painting the town green or otherwise giving evidences of sophomore superiority on this occasion has long since been discarded. The modern undergraduate finds no fun in defacing property. The "Christian Athlete" who poses in front of Murray-Dodge is safe from the attentions lavished on the "Gladiator" who used to grace the façade of the old gymnasium—safe not only because he is very much clothed and it would be impracticable to glue on him a suit of red flannel underwear, as once was the fortune of his pagan prototype when a well-known social reformer visited the College, but safe because the modern undergraduate is rather proud of

his campus and would resent to the uttermost any defacement of its buildings and possessions. Washington's Birthday, to resume, is therefore so decorous an occasion that it is little more than a "day off," and Alexander Hall seems too stately an auditorium for the sprinkling of people who assemble to hear the four orations and the Class of 1876 prize debate.

The new spirit and the new regulations may have detracted from the interest of Washington's Birthday exercises, but they have not killed interest in the club elections which take place immediately after Washington's Birthday. This is not the place to discuss the question as to whether or not the Princeton club system is radically wrong—whether it is, as a socialist writer in the *Nassau Literary Magazine* stigmatizes it, "an institution rotten to the innermost core," or as it seems to an older critic observing it from the calmer viewpoint of a non-Princetonian, "the most representative, the most truly democratic social system in any American university." The truth would probably lie somewhere between the two statements. It is at any rate undeniable that during the year one hardly hears of the clubs as organizations save in intra-college sports. Since the abolition of club hatbands several years ago it has been impossible to tell the clubman from the non-clubman. As organizations, the clubs exercise no controlling function in the life of the College; they are merely conveniences, the outgrowth of the old eating-club system which succeeded the refectory; they are still primarily eating-clubs, where simple meals are served to members three times a day.

One has but to watch the stream of men coming from Prospect Avenue, where the clubs are located, after the luncheon and dinner hours to realize how few mem-

bers remain long in the clubhouses after meals. In the evening there is loitering over billiard tables or around the pianola, or a rubber or two of bridge upstairs; but by eight o'clock the houses are literally deserted and Prospect Avenue is dark. For it must be remembered that no undergraduate is allowed to room at a club; the bedrooms are used only by visiting alumni members, and they remain empty the year around save at commencement, or in the autumn and spring on the occasion of important games. It has been a surprise to visitors with preconceived theories as to the Princeton clubs to find that they maintain no bars or their equivalent, and that no liquor is obtainable at them. The houses vary in appointments. Several are modest enough; all are comfortable and homelike; some are private residences remodeled; others have been erected by the clubs themselves. All of the clubs own their property and most of them are accordingly saddled with debt. Three or four of the sixteen are undoubtedly too pretentious in appearance, but better acquaintance reveals the fact that they make a braver external show of luxury than their internal appointments substantiate. Herein lies their greatest danger; for sophomores are likely to allow mere exteriors to weigh too heavily in accepting or declining election. Many members of the faculty either are graduate members or have the privileges extended to them; and the type of professor who has not lost his interest in undergraduates and who is also a bachelor and therefore free to accept the frequent and spontaneous invitations he receives to luncheon or dinner, is not so rare a guest at the clubs as some would think. As for freshman and sophomore toadying to a club or making a set campaign for election—such things have become ineffective under the system, and therefore rare, and furthermore

are totally hostile to the spirit of the place. Men are elected on their own merit, for their own qualities and abilities. It is somewhat significant of the spirit of the Princeton social system that forty-one per cent. of the present upperclassmen who, because of insufficient means, are receiving financial aid from the University, are members of the clubs. This means first, that the lack of wealth does not count in election, and second, that such men are earning their club fees since the clubs are run on too close a margin to be able to carry non-paying members. That there are heart-burnings and disappointments, and even that friendships have been broken through the results of club elections is probably true. Similar disappointments attend college competitive honors; but their tragic effect on the individual is in exact ratio to the exaggerated and unwarranted importance with which he has invested the circumstances.

These, then, are the organizations into which in February the majority of sophomores are elected, but whose advantages they are not allowed to enjoy until the following September, the use of the club being restricted to upperclassmen. Under a new system which has just gone into operation the elections are governed by a committee of eight undergraduate club members and one member of the faculty. The period of " bickering "—a term whose official interpretation is " any talk, argument, or discussion designed to induce any man to join any club "—begins on February twenty-third and lasts a short time. On or after this date a club may select one or more sophomores to form a " section," that is, the next junior group. Each section when complete contains between fifteen and twenty men, although no limit is placed on the number a club may elect. Each sophomore accepting signs a pledge that he will join the sec-

tion in question and all acceptances are published. Additional members of a section may be signed up only on approval of the club and of the sophomores forming the section. At the end of the bickering period each club sends formal invitations to the sophomores signed in each section, and to such others as it may care to invite to join the club. A sophomore who has joined a section may then decline the formal invitation, but in that case he cannot join any other club until the second term of junior year, or in other words until after the lapse of a year. This provision compels a sophomore to respect his pledge and prevents his playing fast and loose with his acceptance. All elections cease within a week of the close of the bickering period and no further elections are held until the beginning of junior year. Offenses against this system, which is agreed to by all the clubs, are punished by suspension from the club for at least half a year and in extreme cases by dismissal. For a graduate member the penalty is two years' suspension from the club.

Any approach to an underclassman by any member of a class above him, including graduate members, before the period of bickering, is an offense against the club agreement; and all penalties are enforced by the faculty. At the end of the bickering period this year seventy per cent. of the sophomore class had been signed up in this way among the sixteen clubs. The system is not ideal perhaps, but it seems to be a distinct advance over former conditions. Among the plans for new university buildings asked for in a recent report of the president, is one looking forward to the erection of a " Princeton House " or University Club, a central forum on the campus for all members of the academic family, undergraduates, graduates, faculty, and alumni alike. By

means of its offices for all undergraduate activities, its reading rooms, its lounges, its dining-room, and its large assembly room, such a building would afford convenient opportunity for general intercourse and conference, would satisfy certain social demands of the preceptorial method at present almost impossible of realization, would go far to make good the shortcomings of the upperclass club system, and would tend to conserve the solidarity and democracy of Princeton life.

At the risk of incurring the criticism which Mr. Samuel Blair in 1764 sought to disarm in his "Account of the College of New Jersey," when he confessed that under ordinary circumstances a description of the domestic economy of the College would make "low and vulgar" reading, it seems as though a word might properly be said at this point about the expense of a college year at Princeton for a student rooming in a dormitory. The university catalogue announces that the estimated average minimum is four hundred dollars and the average medium is five hundred and forty-nine dollars, which sums include room rent, board, heat, light, washing, tuition, and other university fees. Statistics compiled from the actual payments of thirteen hundred undergraduates in 1913 show that for the above items eight men spent less than one hundred dollars, forty-six spent between one hundred and two hundred dollars, seventy-six between two hundred and three hundred dollars, ninety-five between three hundred and four hundred dollars, and one hundred and forty-one between four hundred and five hundred dollars, or that the university bills of three hundred and sixty-six men (over twenty-eight per cent. of the total) for the items referred to were under five hundred dollars. The corresponding expenditure of five hundred and seven (thirty-nine per cent.)

was between five hundred and six hundred dollars. So that the necessary expenditure of over sixty-seven per cent, of the undergraduate body was considerably under six hundred dollars. On the other hand, four hundred and forty-two (over thirty-two per cent.) spent between six hundred and eight hundred dollars, and a handful, or exactly five, spent between eight hundred and nine hundred dollars. These statistics prove nothing save that a man's necessary expenses at Princeton are, as they are everywhere, dependent very largely on himself. Officially about thirteen per cent. of the undergraduate body are receiving financial assistance through scholarships and remission of tuition, but there are no data obtainable of the large number who are earning outside of official channels a part of their expenses. The fact is, however, well known to those who have taken the trouble to inquire; and what is more important it makes absolutely no difference in a man's standing on the campus to have it known that he is helping to pay his own bills; men are judged by what they are and not by what they have. The records of the Bureau of Student Self-Help show that the large majority of men on its rolls are freshmen and sophomores, indicating that ordinarily by the time a man becomes a junior or senior he has so "learned the ropes" he does not have to depend on the guidance of an organization in working his way.

Of the one hundred and sixty-nine men actually enrolled in the Bureau in 1913, forty-four had one hundred dollars or less (six had nothing) and forty had between one hundred and twenty-five and two hundred dollars to see them through college. Employment was found for them and no student was compelled to discontinue his college course on account of lack of funds. This does not mean that Princeton is a Mecca for needy students. There can-

not be so great an opportunity to find employment in a small town as in a city; but, given health, brains, and energy, and if possible enough funds to see him well through his freshman year, a student requiring financial assistance has a good chance of earning it at Princeton. The variety of work done ranges from the customary lines of college employment such as tutoring, stenography, newspaper work, and selling agencies for various articles, to acting as ushers and gatemen at the University Field, library work, bookkeeping, gardening, work on the College farm, and the managership of concerns like the Students' Clothes Pressing Establishment, Students' Express, and the Shoe Shining Parlor. Board is the most expensive item in a man's bill; but although the dining halls are operated at cost, the University making no profit whatsoever, provision is made at the dining halls for those men who cannot afford to pay the full price—six dollars per week. If a student can satisfy the undergraduate Dining Halls Committee that he must have a reduction, it will be granted to him. About ninety men are receiving reductions from one dollar and seventy-five cents to five dollars a week and in return they perform such work as is assigned, consisting of clerical and executive duties, news stand and tobacco service, etc. No students wait on tables.

As for the University's side of the ledger, it may be noticed that during the past five years the annual average cost to the University for educating an undergraduate has been three hundred and thirty-one dollars and fifty cents. That is to say, the University disburses annually per student three hundred and thirty-one dollars and fifty cents more than it receives from him through his university bills.

The democracy of campus life finds further echo in

many minor ways. A recent careful count in Princeton garages revealed the fact that just six automobiles belonging to undergraduates were housed there. The curriculum with its preliminary year of an almost entirely required course of study, the uniformity of dress worn by freshmen, the disputed " horsing " rules themselves are democratic in effect. The dining halls at which freshmen and sophomores eat are democratic, meals being served at small tables in continuous suites of adjoining rooms which open into one another and have no interposing doors. The quarters occupied by the dining halls are temporary and plans are already drawn for the erection of a more convenient and attractive building which will enable the authorities to carry out still more satisfactorily the general underlying principles of the dining halls system. Preceptorial conferences are another social leveling process. Nothing could be more Spartan in simplicity than the conference rooms of McCosh Hall. Many of the faculty hold their conferences in their private studies. Although congeniality is not ignored, since the spirit of a conference is naturally colored by the friendliness of its members, nevertheless the chief basis governing the formation of preceptorial groups is necessarily that of intellectual caliber. This is particularly true of honors men. The whole spirit of the preceptorial method has been, and is, toward abolition of the barriers between faculty and students. There are members of the faculty who look with disfavor on this tendency, just as there are students who do not care to know their instructors any more intimately than they have to. But such men are in the minority. Faculty association with students is carried unavoidably into extra-curriculum activities. Members of the faculty are advisory members of the Senior Coun-

cil; they are called into constant and frank consultation by the college literary, religious, dramatic, and other organizations. In fact, here again critics assert that this tendency toward familiar relationship is carried too far. But these things are illustrative of the communal interest that welds the campus society into one—due, not to any set purpose, but to the conditions of residence, and the daily associations and interlockings of a life led within more or less restricted bounds.

With the senior parade on the afternoon of St. Patrick's Day, spring is formally ushered in. This parade, which has no reason for existence and like " poler's recess " is only one of the interesting contrasts between the serious and the frivolous elements of campus existence, has come to be an annual affair, and with its motley array of floats and transparencies is the opportunity for skits and satires on current events, in and out of the college world. It has taken the place of the senior parade at the freshman-sophomore baseball game. Set in the country as Princeton is, the spring term necessarily is the pleasantest. Long before Potter's Woods show green or the poplars marking the canal tow-path come to life and color again, the crews get out on Lake Carnegie. Soon canoes appear from the old boathouse on the canal and explore the portages leading to the upper reaches of Stony Brook and the Millstone. The campus is surveyed once more by the civil engineering squads who pray aloud for the warm sunny afternoons on which they may loiter in the soft meadows of Laughlin Field and Olden Farm. The soccer team comes out of winter quarters; cross-country runners are to be seen threading their way along the roads and through the fields around Princeton, the Caledonian games, dual track and tennis meets, interscholastic meets, and preparation

for the intercollegiates keep University Field occupied every afternoon. Besides the forty or fifty minor nines playing off all sorts of schedules, there is varsity baseball every Wednesday and Saturday. The University is not suffering from any athletic craze; it is simply recognized that some form of exercise other than walking to a meal and back is a good thing and is also good fun, especially as it can be topped off with a plunge in Brokaw tank, or with a shower in one's own dormitory. Intramural athletic competitions, arranged by a students' committee and under the general supervision of the Department of Hygiene and Physical Education, are systematizing this daily outdoor life and giving it direction and purpose, with the result that there is far less of the old-time "loafing," and far more of a vigorous healthy physical activity, the counterpart of the newer attitude toward strictly scholastic duties.

When the spring evenings have grown warm the seniors sing on the steps of Nassau Hall, the audience extending in a wide semicircle under the trees. Senior singing originally was not supposed to be for the delectation of the general public—if the public loitered to listen that was the public's privilege. Applause was frowned upon. Nowadays there is less spontaneity, and for some time before the warm evenings come the singing is rehearsed in Murray-Dodge, that ever-willing auditorium of worthy causes. By the time the class has been drilled into some sort of harmonious effort, the college carpenters have produced a new set of campus benches which are kept in serried ranks at the foot of the steps for senior use. The scene at senior singing is a haunting one. It appears to depend for its universal appeal on the mood of the hour, the mystery of the massive silent building against which it is set, the dimness of the light

under the trees beneath which the semicircle gathers. The audience is felt rather than seen and it is only when everyone rises at " Old Nassau " and a forest of waving hands and hats marks the beat of the chorus that one realizes how large that audience is.

On crowded commencement evenings, which are by no means the most typical, the street is lined with automobiles, the trees are festooned with Chinese lanterns. and the campus is packed with humanity. Commencement festivities begin with the Yale baseball game, which, thanks to the returning classes, has become a riot of bands and costumes and color. Class reunions in the modern sense of the word date from 1898, and the commencement costuming of the younger classes is an " old custom " of still more recent introduction. On the morning of commencement Sunday the baccalaureate sermon is preached in Alexander Hall to the graduating class by the president of the University. In the afternoon, returning classes hold their memorial services in Marquand Chapel, and in the evening the annual meeting of the Philadelphian Society takes place. Monday is Class Day. The Class Poem and Oration are listened to in Alexander Hall; the Ivy Oration is delivered on the steps of Nassau Hall and the class ivy is planted. At noon the annual alumni meetings of the Cliosophic and American Whig Societies are held, and the afternoon is given over to the Cannon Exercises, a rite dating back over half a century and staged in an amphitheater temporarily erected around the big cannon. The ceremony ends with the shower of churchwarden class pipes on the cannon. The next day is Commencement Day, when the exercises in Alexander Hall begin with the Latin Salutatory, one of the two survivors of the formidable list of orations which used to grace commencement pro-

grammes and be the joy of the audience and the pride of fond parents. In these unregenerate days printed copies of the Latin Salutatory are distributed to the audience, with the places clearly marked where applause should properly occur. Announcements of prizes are then made, the degrees are conferred, and after the Valedictory—the other surviving oration—the programme ends with "Old Nassau," the audience remaining standing while the academic procession marches out. Then comes the Alumni Luncheon in the gymnasium, with speeches by representatives of the ten-year classes, followed later in the afternoon by the annual reception at Prospect. The melodramatic loving-cup exercises in front of Nassau Hall, after senior singing that night, bring the week to a close. The seniors formally hand the steps over to the juniors and file off to their class supper; and the night ends with a bonfire of the senior singing benches. The next day witnesses the exodus.

And if, in conclusion, one asks what it is that men carry away from their brief life together here, the answer might be summed up in one word, imagination. The history and traditions of the place, the freedom and frankness of its life and customs, the unutilitarian kind and method of its learning, and, not least, the natural beauty of its environment—these, if men have not been too blind to see, or too dull to understand, subtly take and keep possession of the imagination, are a stimulus to finer things, energize life into service, and withal in the pauses of the work-a-day world send men's thoughts and homage casting back to Nassau Hall and the old scenes.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

Charter of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey [1]

George the Second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting—

Whereas sundry of our loving subjects, well-disposed and public-spirited persons, have lately, by their humble petition, presented to our trusty and well-beloved Jonathan Belcher, Esquire, Governor and Commander in Chief of our province of New Jersey in America, represented the great necessity of coming into some method for encouraging and promoting a learned education of our youth in New Jersey, and have expressed their earnest desire that a college may be erected in our said province of New Jersey in America, for the benefit of the inhabitants of the said province and others, wherein youth may be instructed in the learned languages, and in the liberal arts and sciences. And whereas by the fundamental concessions made at the first settlement of New Jersey by the Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, then proprietors thereof, and granted under their hands and the seal of the said province, bearing date the tenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, it was, among other things, conceded and agreed, that no freeman, within the said province of New Jersey, should at any time be molested, punished, disquieted or called in question, for any difference in opinion or practice in matters of religious concernment, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the said province; but that all and every such person or persons might, from time to time, and at all times thereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments and consciences, in matters of religion, throughout the said province, they behaving

[1] Corporate title changed to "The Trustees of Princeton University," October 22, 1896.

themselves peaceably and quietly and not using this liberty to licentiousness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others, as by the said concessions on record in the Secretary's office of New Jersey, at Perth Amboy, in lib. 3, folio 66, etc., may appear. WHEREFORE and for that the said petitioners have also expressed their earnest desire that those of every religious denomination may have free and equal liberty and advantages of education in the said college, any different sentiments in religion notwithstanding, WE being willing to grant the reasonable requests and prayers of all our loving subjects, and to promote a liberal and learned education among them—

KNOW YE THEREFORE, that we, considering the premises, and being willing for the future that the best means of education be established in our said province of New Jersey, for the benefit and advantage of the inhabitants of our said province and others, do, of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, by these presents, will, ordain, grant, and constitute, that there be a college erected in our said province of New Jersey, for the education of youth in the learned languages and in the liberal arts and sciences; [1] and that the trustees of the said college and their successors for ever, may and shall be one body corporate and politic, in deed, action and name, and shall be called, and named and distinguished, by the name of THE TRUSTEES OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY; [2] and further, we have willed, given, granted, constituted, and appointed, and by this our present charter, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, will, give, grant, constitute, and ordain, that there shall, in the said college, from henceforth for ever, be a body politic, consisting of Trustees of the said College of New Jersey. And, for the more full and perfect erection of the said corporation and body politic consisting of Trustees of the College of New Jersey, we, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, create, make, ordain, constitute, nominate, and appoint, the Governor and Commander in Chief of our said province of New Jersey, for the time being, and also our trusty and well-beloved John Reading, James Hude, Andrew Johnston, Thomas Leonard, John Kinsey, Edward Shippen and

[1] Extended by Act of Legislature, March 11, 1864.
[2] Corporate title changed (see *ante*).

William Smith, Esquires, Peter Van Brugh Livingston, William Peartree Smith, and Samuel Hazard, gentlemen, John Pierson, Ebenezer Pemberton, Joseph Lamb, Gilbert Tennent, William Tennent, Richard Treat, Samuel Blair, David Cowell, Aaron Burr, Timothy Jones, Thomas Arthur, and Jacob Green, ministers of the gospel, to be Trustees of the said College of New Jersey.

[That the said Trustees do, at their first meeting, after the receipt of these presents, and before they proceed to any business, take the oath appointed to be taken by an act, passed in the first year of the reign of the late King George the First, entitled, "An act for the further security of his Majesty's person and government, and the succession of the crown in the heirs of the late princess Sophia, being protestants, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, and his open and secret abettors"; as also that they make and subscribe the declarations mentioned in an act of parliament, made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, entitled, "An act for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants"; and likewise take an oath for faithfully executing the office or trust reposed in them, the said oaths to be administered to them by three of his Majesty's justices of the peace, *quorum unus;* and when any new member or officer of this corporation is chosen, they are to take and subscribe the aforementioned oaths and declarations before their admission into their trusts or offices, the same to be administered to them in the presence of the Trustees, by such person as they shall appoint for that service.] [1]

That no meeting of the Trustees shall be valid or legal for doing any business whatsoever, unless the clerk has duly and legally notified each and every member of the corporation of such meeting; and that before entering on any business, the clerk shall certify such notification under his hand, to the Board of Trustees.

That the said Trustees have full power and authority or any *thirteen* [2] or greater number of them, to elect, nominate, and appoint, and associate unto them, any number of persons as

[1] The entire paragraph relative to oaths repealed and supplied by Act of March 13, 1780; and further amended by Act of March 29, 1866.

[2] Altered to *nine*, provided that the governor of the State, or the president of the University, or the senior trustee, be one of the nine; by the Act of Nov. 2, 1781.

Trustees upon any vacancy, so that the whole number of Trustees exceed not *twenty-three*[1] whereof the President of the said college for the time being, to be chosen as hereafter mentioned, to be one, and twelve of the said Trustees to be always such persons as are inhabitants of our said province of New Jersey. And we do further, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs and successors, will, give, grant, and appoint, that the said Trustees and their successors shall, for ever hereafter, be in deed, fact and name, a body corporate and politic; and that they, the said body corporate and politic, shall be known and distinguished in all deeds, grants, bargains, sales, writings, evidences, muniments, or otherwise howsoever, and in all courts for ever hereafter, plead and be impleaded, by the name of THE TRUSTEES OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY.[2]

And that they, the said corporation, by the name aforesaid, shall be able, and in law capable, for the use of the said college, to have, get, acquire, purchase, receive and possess lands, tenements, hereditaments, jurisdictions, and franchises, for themselves and their successors, in fee simple or otherwise howsoever; and to purchase, receive or build, any house or houses, or any other buildings, as they shall think needful or convenient for the use of the said College of New Jersey, and in such place or places in New Jersey, as they, the said Trustees, shall agree upon, and also to receive and dispose of any goods, chattels, and other things of what nature soever, for the use aforesaid: and also to have, accept and receive, any rents, profits, annuities, gifts, legacies, donations and bequests, of any kind whatsoever, for the use aforesaid, so, nevertheless, that the yearly clear value of the premises do not exceed the sum of *two thousand pounds sterling*.[3] And therewith or otherwise to support and pay, (as the said Trustees and their successors, or the major part of such of them as [according to the provision herein afterwards] are regularly convened for that purpose, shall agree and see cause,) the President, tutors, and other officers or ministers of the said college, their respective annual salaries or allowances, and all such other necessary and contingent charges as from time to time shall arise and accrue, relating to the said college; and also to grant,

[1] Altered to *twenty-seven* by the Act of April 6, 1868.
[2] Corporate title changed (see *ante*).
[3] Amount changed.

bargain, sell, let, set or assign, lands, tenements or hereditaments, goods or chattels, contract or do all other things whatsoever, by the name aforesaid, and for the use aforesaid, in as full and ample manner, to all intents and purposes, as any natural person or other body politic or corporate is able to do, by the laws of our realm of Great Britain, or of our said province of New Jersey.

And to our further grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, to the intent that our said corporation and body politic may answer the end of their erection and constitution, and may have perpetual succession and continue forever, We do for us, our heirs and successors, hereby will, give, and grant, unto the said Trustees of the College of New Jersey, and to their successors forever, that when any *thirteen* [1] of the said Trustees, or of their successors, are convened and met together as aforesaid, for the service of the said college, the Governor and Commander in Chief of our said province of New Jersey, and in his absence, the President of the said college, and in the absence of the said Governor and President, the eldest Trustee present at such meeting, from time to time, shall be President of the said Trustees in all their meetings: and at any time or times such *thirteen* [1] Trustees convened and met as aforesaid, shall be capable to act as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes, as if all the Trustees of the said college were personally present; provided always, that a majority of the said *thirteen* [1] Trustees be of the said province of New Jersey, except after regular notice they fail of coming, in which case those that are present are hereby empowered to act, the different place of their abode notwithstanding; and all affairs and actions whatsoever, under the care of the said Trustees, shall be determined by the majority or greater number of those *thirteen* [1] so convened and met together, the President whereof shall have no more than a single vote.

And we do for us, our heirs and successors, hereby will, give and grant full power and authority, to any six or more of the said Trustees, to call meetings of the said Trustees, from time to time, and to order notice to the said Trustees of the times and places of meeting for the service aforesaid.

And also we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, will, give and grant to the said Trustees of the College of New Jersey,

[1] Or *nine* (see *ante*).

and to their successors for ever, that the said Trustees do elect, nominate and appoint such a qualified person as they, or the major part of any *thirteen*[1] of them convened for that purpose as above directed, shall think fit, to be the President of the said college, and to have the immediate care of the education and government of such students as shall be sent to, and admitted into the said college, for instruction and education; and also that the said Trustees do elect, nominate and appoint so many tutors and professors, to assist the President of the said College, in the education and government of the students belonging to it, as they, the said Trustees, or their successors, or the major part of any *thirteen*[1] of them, which shall convene for that purpose as above directed, shall, from time to time, and at any time hereafter, think needful and serviceable to the interests of the said college; and also, that the said Trustees and their successors, or the major part of any *thirteen*[1] of them, which shall convene for that purpose, as above directed, shall at any time displace and discharge from the service of the said college such President, tutors and professors, and to elect others in their room and stead; and also, that the said Trustees or their successors, or the major part of any *thirteen*[1] of them, which shall convene for that purpose, as above directed, do from time to time, as occasion shall require, elect, constitute, and appoint a treasurer, a clerk, an usher, and a steward, for the said college, and appoint to them, and each of them, their respective business and trusts, and displace and discharge from the service of the said college such treasurer, clerk, usher, or steward, and to elect others in their room and stead; which President, tutors, professors, treasurer, clerk, usher, and steward, so elected and appointed, we do for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents constitute and establish in their several offices, and do give them, and every of them, full power and authority to exercise the same in the said College of New Jersey, according to the direction, and during the pleasure of the said Trustees, as fully and freely as any other the like officers in our universities or any of our colleges in our realm of Great Britain, lawfully may and ought to do.

And also that the said Trustees, and their successors, or the major part of any *thirteen*[1] of them, which shall convene for that purpose as above directed, as often as one or more of the

[1] Or *nine* (see *ante*).

said Trustees shall happen to die, or by removal or otherwise shall become unfit or uncapable, according to their judgment, to serve the interest of the said college, do, as soon as conveniently may be after the death, removal or such unfitness or incapacity of such Trustee or Trustees to serve the interest of the said college, elect and appoint such other Trustee or Trustees as shall supply the place of him or them so dying, or otherwise becoming unfit or uncapable to serve the interest of the said college; and every Trustee so elected and appointed shall, by virtue of these presents, and of such election and appointment, be vested with all the power and privileges which any of the other Trustees of the said college are hereby invested with.

And we do further, of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, will, give and grant, and by these presents do, for us, our heirs and successors, will, give and grant unto the said Trustees of the College of New Jersey, that they and their successors, or the major part of any *thirteen*[1] of them, which shall convene for that purpose as above directed, may make, and they are hereby fully empowered from time to time, freely and lawfully to make and establish such ordinances, orders and laws, as may tend to the good and wholesome government of the said college, and all the students and the several officers and ministers thereof, and to the public benefit of the same, not repugnant to the laws and statutes of our realm of Great Britain, or of this our province of New Jersey, and not excluding any person of any religious denomination whatsoever from free and equal liberty and advantage of education, or from any of the liberties, privileges, and immunities of the said college, on account of his or their being of a religious profession different from the said Trustees of the said college; and such ordinances, orders, and laws, which shall be so as aforesaid made, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, ratify, allow of, and confirm, as good and effectual, to oblige and bind all the said students and the several officers and ministers of the said college; and we do hereby authorize and empower the said Trustees of the college, and the President, tutors, and professors, by them elected and appointed, to put such ordinances and laws in execution to all proper intents and purposes.

And we do further, of our especial grace, certain knowledge,

[1] Or *nine* (see *ante*).

and mere motion, will, give and grant unto the said Trustees of the College of New Jersey, that, for the encouragement of learning and animating the students of the said college to diligence, industry, and a laudable progress in literature, that they and their successors, or the major part of any *thirteen*[1] of them, convened for that purpose as above directed, do, by the President of the said college for the time being, or by any other deputed by them, give and grant any such degree and degrees to any of the students of the said college, or to any others by them thought worthy thereof, as are usually granted in either of our universities or any other college in our realm of Great Britain[2]; and that they do sign and seal diplomas or certificates of such graduations, to be kept by the graduates as perpetual memorials or testimonials thereof.

And further, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Trustees of the College of New Jersey and to their successors, that they and their successors shall have a common Seal, under which they may pass all diplomas, certificates of degrees, and all other the affairs and business of and concerning the said corporation, or of and concerning the said College of New Jersey, which shall be engraven in such form and with such inscription as shall be devised by the said Trustees of the said college, or the major part of any *thirteen*[1] of them, convened for the service of the said college as above directed.

And we do further, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Trustees of the College of New Jersey and their successors, or the major part of any *thirteen*[1] of them, convened for the service of the college as above directed, full power and authority from time to time, to nominate and appoint all other inferior officers and ministers, which they shall think to be convenient and necessary for the use of the college, not herein particularly named or mentioned, and which are accustomary in our universities, or in any of our colleges in our realm of Great Britain, which officers or ministers we do hereby empower to execute their offices or trusts as fully and freely as any other the like officers or ministers, in and of our universities

[1] Or *nine* (see *ante*).
[2] Extended by the Act of March 29, 1866.

or any other college in our realm of Great Britain, lawfully may or ought to do.

And lastly, our express will and pleasure is, and we do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Trustees of the College of New Jersey and to their successors for ever, that these our letters patent, or the enrolment thereof, shall be good and effectual in the law, to all intents and purposes, against us, our heirs and successors, without any other license, grant or confirmation from us, our heirs and successors, hereafter by the said Trustees to be had or obtained; notwithstanding the not reciting or misrecital, or not naming or misnaming of the aforesaid offices, franchises, privileges, immunities, or other the premises, or any of them: and notwithstanding a writ of *ad quod damnum* hath not issued forth to inquire of the premises or any of them, before the ensealing hereof; any statute, act, ordinance or provision, or any other matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding; to have, hold, and enjoy, all and singular the privileges, advantages, liberties, immunities, and all other the premises herein and hereby granted and given, or which are meant, mentioned, or intended to be herein and hereby given and granted, unto them the said Trustees of the said College of New Jersey, and to their successors for ever.

In Testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent, and the Great Seal of our said province of New Jersey to be hereunto affixed. Witness our trusty and well-beloved Jonathan Belcher, Esquire, Governor and Commander in Chief of our said province of New Jersey, this fourteenth day of September, in the twenty-second year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight.

SEAL

I have perused and considered the written Charter of incorporation, and find nothing contained therein inconsistent with his Majesty's interest or the honor of the Crown.

(Signed) J. Warrell, *Att. Gen'l.*

September the 13th, 1748.—This Charter, having been read in Council, was consented to and approved of.

(Signed) Cha. Read, *Cl. Con.*

Let the Great Seal of the Province of New Jersey be affixed to this Charter.

(Signed) J. Belcher.

To the Secretary of the Province of New Jersey.

	1805	'19	'21	'23	'29	'30	'33	'36	'39	'42	'45	'48	'51	'54	'57	'60	'63	'66	'69	'72	'75	'78	'81	'84	'87	'90	'93	'96	'99	1902	'05	'08	'11	'13
Alabama	....	..	..	..	..	1	..	11	10	11	8	7	11	13	7	4	..	2	1	2	3	1	1	2	...	1	4	5	3	3	6	6	7	5
Arizona	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	4	4	3	2	1
California	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	2	..	1	1	..	1	2	6	4	6	3	3	2	5	5	6	5	8	19
Colorado	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	...	2	5	3	3	9	10	11	12	11
Connecticut	1	..	1	2	..	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	1	1	2	2	..	2	1	2	4	3	4	2	1	9	8	8	18	15	12	15	21
Delaware	7	6	5	1	1	2	3	3	1	..	3	5	4	1	5	2	2	5	3	8	3	4	1	3	3	7	10	11	6	4	5	20	18	12
Dist. Columbia	7	4	8	5	2	2	5	6	10	8	10	6	4	4	1	2	6	8	4	8	20	15	8	15	13	14	25	30	21	25	17	22	22	25
Florida	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	3	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	1	2	1	..	4	3	5	6	11
Georgia	9	9	3	3	..	3	3	5	5	9	16	9	10	8	6	10	..	..	2	4	6	10	4	4	6	6	3	4	2	6	3	1	8	7
Idaho	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2
Illinois	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	7	2	5	5	7	14	15	12	16	8	25	37	39	46	70	59	40	46	38
Indiana	....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	1	4	2	5	2	6	4	5	5	2	2	9	11	11	14	26	24	18	17	19
Indian Territory	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	..
Iowa	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	4	1	2	2	3	1	5	2	5	6	18	14	11	12	20	8	7	5
Kansas	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	2	2	4	12	6	6	7	4	1	4	8
Kentucky	3	5	1	1	..	..	1	..	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	7	7	4	3	2	17	12	5	17	14	15	18	18	23	14	25	16
Louisiana	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	7	4	3	8	11	6	8	5	..	..	..	2	1	..	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	..	1	2	7	8
Maine	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	3	1	5	1	5	7
Maryland	24	13	11	8	6	10	22	13	16	11	21	27	25	27	23	24	19	15	20	21	36	21	31	16	13	27	33	41	43	45	45	49	48	50
Massachusetts	1	1	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	1	3	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	5	1	1	1	2	3	2	7	8	7	8	13	10	13	15
Michigan	....	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	..	2	4	3	3	6	5	5	7	6	13	10	13	16	18
Minnesota	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	2	1	..	2	2	2	1	7	5	4	3	4
Mississippi	2	3	..	3	3	3	..	..	4	9	11	14	14	10	10	15	..	4	2	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Missouri	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	3	2	2	..	..	3	5	4	11	8	4	1	8	11	18	26	30	34	22	17	35	34
Montana	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	3	2	6	6	1	..
Nebraska	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	7	4	5	4	4	5	2	3
Nevada	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	2	1	..	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	..	2	1	..	2	1	2	3	5	5
New Jersey	42	33	31	45	52	59	61	57	52	49	63	53	68	61	83	104	93	80	105	90	105	137	134	115	144	193	231	233	256	316	277	264	306	340
New York	13	10	8	6	7	14	31	41	28	20	21	16	33	32	34	32	40	29	39	80	104	88	78	86	107	154	221	171	181	255	272	325	380	362
North Carolina	4	2	8	7	4	4	5	18	10	9	7	18	10	3	6	4	..	3	10	5	10	3	1	4	...	2	1	2	4	6	7	9	8	8
North Dakota	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	2	...	1	..	2	1	...
Ohio	....	..	..	..	2	2	2	1	1	1	4	4	3	..	5	3	5	4	8	16	13	14	26	29	25	24	51	40	46	53	45	41	58	56
Oklahoma	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Oregon	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	4	3	2	2	4	4	4	4	3	8	4	4
Pennsylvania	32	32	25	21	8	21	28	43	33	21	35	34	49	36	49	52	50	48	82	95	93	78	102	99	133	177	287	297	304	335	357	285	318	340
Rhode Island	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	1	3	2	8	11	8
South Carolina	12	5	4	3	..	..	7	1	8	12	8	5	3	12	6	11	..	..	3	9	5	3	8	...	1	1	4	5	5	...	3	7	1	7
South Dakota	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	1	..	..
Tennessee	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	2	1	4	3	2	6	13	3	7	4	6	6	2	1	2	2	7	8	6	7	10	10	13	7	15	11
Texas	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	1	2	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	9	1	..	10	10	13	7	15	11
Utah	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	1	..	..	2	2	1	3	4	1	..
Vermont	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	2
Virginia	21	15	8	17	1	5	18	23	26	11	17	25	9	12	6	4	4	3	1	4	5	1	3	2	3	..	2	6	4	7	8	10	11	10
Washington	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	1	5	6	4
West Virginia	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	6	1	4	6	5	4	9	8
Wisconsin	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..	1	2	3	8	1	1	2	2	5	3	3	4	11	16	6	7	12
Wyoming	....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1

APPENDIX III

Geographical Distribution of Alumni, 1914

Alabama	42	Nevada	5
Alaska	5	New Hampshire	14
Arizona	16	New Jersey	1,583
Arkansas	18	New Mexico	15
California	159	New York	2,180
Colorado	94	North Carolina	46
Connecticut	94	North Dakota	9
Delaware	58	Ohio	313
District of Columbia	206	Oklahoma	9
Florida	29	Oregon	46
Georgia	56	Pennsylvania	1,969
Idaho	15	Rhode Island	23
Illinois	433	South Carolina	41
Indiana	116	South Dakota	8
Iowa	79	Tennessee	92
Kansas	26	Texas	74
Kentucky	109	Utah	31
Louisiana	25	Vermont	18
Maine	9	Virginia	71
Maryland	138	Washington	67
Massachusetts	184	West Virginia	51
Michigan	69	Wisconsin	56
Minnesota	90	Wyoming	7
Mississippi	35	Insular	26
Missouri	205	Foreign	305
Montana	22		
Nebraska	38	Total	9,429

APPENDIX IV

Instructional Staff and Student Enrolment

1868–1913

	Faculty and Instructors	Fellows	Graduate School	Electrical Engineers	A.B.	B.S.	B. S. or Litt.B.	Litt.B.	C.E.	Specials	Qualifying	Total Student Enrolment
1868–1869	20	..	...	..	281	...			...	...	...	281
1871–1872	19	5	...	..	379	...			...	...	...	384
1874–1875	19	7	...	..	383	24			...	1	...	415
1877–1878	28	8	44	..	445	33			13	8	...	551
1880–1881	35	8	41	..	378	31			22	12	...	492
1883–1884	41	8	55	..	370	41			39	15	...	528
1886–1887	41	7	88	..	353	48			32	35	...	563
1889–1890	45	12	105	10	455	45			54	87	...	768
1892–1893	63	12	103	14	600	115			152	76	...	1072
1895–1896	79	7	119	7	544	192			109	110	...	1088
1898–1899	85	9	128	4	607	238			65	57	...	1108
1901–1902	101	16	117	5	730	285			143	74	...	1370
1904–1905	109	13	91	8	638	...	362a	...	188	87	...	1387
1907–1908	163	20	93	5	647	46b	177c	...	247	11	55	1301
1910–1911	174	28	113	8	496	37b	302c	178d	214	6	62	1444
1913–1914	202	45	131	13	469	53b	450c	227d	156	8	47	1599

(a) B.S. and Litt. B. not differentiated.
(b) B.S. upperclassmen.
(c) B.S. and Litt. B. underclassmen not differentiated.
(d) Litt.B. upperclassmen.

APPENDIX V

Endowment, 1869-1914

Year	General	Special	Total
1869-70	$274,345.00	$247,655.00	$522,000.00
1872-73	284,060.65	408,823.53	692,884.18
1875-76	438,480.45	423,925.00	862,405.45
1880-81	539,028.50	440,186.95	979,215.45
1883-84	678,754.50	552,790.95	1,231,545.45
1886-87	656,679.56	780,686.95	1,437,366.51
1889-90	674,459.96	850,356.95	1,524,816.91
1892-93	683,059.56	941,709.81	1,624,769.37
1895-96	692,209.56	986,010.89	1,678,220.45
1898-99	724,934.56	1,591,581.95	2,316,516.51
1901-02	735,081.10	1,845,568.90	2,580,650.00
1904-05	762,018.95	2,111,981.05	2,874,000.00
1907-08	726,043.05	3,037,206.95	3,763,250.00
1910-11	920,380.00	4,207,820.00	5,128,200.00
1913-14	923,280.00	4,305,620.00	5,228,900.00

APPENDIX VI

Financial Summary, Year Ending July 31, 1913

RECEIPTS

	General	*Special*	*Gifts*	*Total*
A. General Income—				
1 Dividends and Interest from General Endowment Investments	$43,947 44	$29 21	.....	$43,976 65
2 Interest on Bank Balances (to the extent same is General)	8,371 80	.....	.....	8,371 80
3 Income Special Funds, applicable to General Purposes.....	45,145 52	.....	.....	45,145 52
4 Room Rents.....	111,480 26	.....	.....	111,480 26
5 Students' Fees	228,812 05	10,593 38	.....	239,405 43
6 Sundries.....	6,777 89	5,773 12	.....	12,551 01
	$444,534 96	$16,395 71	.....	$460,930 67
B. Graduate Council— Pledges and Subscriptions.	$51,825 96	.....	.....	$51,825 96
C. Income from Investments held for Special Funds—				
1 Specified Funds	$2,298 08	$126,771 99	.....	$129,070 07
2 Library Funds.....	.....	9,315 00	.....	9,315 00
3 Grounds and Buildings Funds	.....	6,384 00	.....	6,384 00
	$2,298 08	$142,470 99	.....	$144,769 07
D. Income From Gifts—				
1 General Educational....			$43,074 99	$43,074 99
2 Library			13,792 87	13,792 87
3 Grounds and Buildings.			5,300 00	5,300 00
4 Special Purposes			14,567 12	14,567 12
Total Receipts.....	$498,659 00	$158,866 70	$76,734 98	$76,734 98

Summary of Receipts		
	A.	$460,930 67
	B.	51,825 96
	C.	144,769 07
	D.	76,734 98
Total.....		$734,260 68

DISBURSEMENTS

	General	*Special*	*Gifts*	*Total*
A. Instruction and Administration	$376,678 34	$131,759 36	$52,569 99	$561,007 69
B. Grounds and Buildings	177,617 69	9,897 77	797 00	188,312 46
C. Library.....	18,174 66	13,934 34	9,342 63	41,451 63
D. Sundries	7 14	15,353 04	6,691 51	22,051 69
Total	$572,477 83	$170,944 51	$69,401 13	$812,823 47

INDEX

A

Adams, John, at Princeton, 77, 347
Advisers, 376
Alexander, Stephen, 145
Alexander Hall, 258, 361
Alumni Association of Nassau Hall, 140, 144
Alumni associations, 249; geographical distribution, 409; solidarity, 248; trustees, 249, 269
Alumni commencement addresses, 141
American Whig Society, 180, 258, 378
Art Museum, 232, 355
Athletics, 207-210, 246, 381, 395

B

Belcher, Jonathan, 12, 21, 23, 26-29, 41, 48
Biological laboratory, 232, 258
Blair, Samuel, 56, 60, 70; "Account of the College of New Jersey," 60, 170, 173-174, 298
Blair Hall, 282, 363
Boathouse, 359
Bounds, college, 203
Brokaw Memorial Building, 258
Brown Hall, 258, 363
Bureau of Student Self-Help, 392
Burlesques, Senior, 200
Burr, Aaron, 5, 8, 23, 27; president, 31; inaugural, 32; death and character, 48-49; entrance requirements, 293; curriculum, 46, 296-297
Burr, Colonel Aaron, 145
Bursar, 118
Butler, 169
Buttery, 168

C

Cameron, Henry C., 269
Campbell Hall, 282, 364
Campus, Growth, 333; earliest print, 334; in 1794, 335; in 1847, 341; plan of development, 339, 344; life, 179, 368 ff.
Cane spree, 380
Cannon, 146
Carnahan, James, president, 137; resigns, 153; administration, 154; curriculum, 307
Carnegie, Lake, 279
Chancellor Green Library, 231
Chapel, 56, 153, 171-172; 213, 214, 232, 341, 356
Chaplains, Revolutionary, 183, 186
Charter of 1746, 11, 14, 17-18; of 1748, 23-26, 399
Cheer, 206
Chemical laboratory, 258, 350
Chemistry, Introduction of, 101
Chi Phi, 216
Civil engineering, 231, 317-319, 322
Civil War, 160-162
Cleveland, Grover, 278, 285, 366
Cliosophic Society, 180, 258, 378
Clubs, 377; upperclass, 270, 387 ff.
College of New Jersey, Earliest account, 2; purpose, 3, 8, 19, 20, 63; at Elizabeth, 17, 21; at Newark, 44-46; moves to Princeton, 34-37, 44; Blair's "Account," 60, 170, 173-174, 298, 334; theological control, 20, 123; Southern affiliation, 93-94, 160; Civil War, 161; centennial, 150-151, 340; sesquicentennial, 260-263; university title adopted, 263
College expenses, 47, 117, 119, 134, 135, 141, 391 ff.
Colleges, separate, proposed, 134
Colors, 206
Commencement, 32, 48, 64, 75, 152, 195, 196, 397
Commencement ball, 196-197
Committee of Fifty, 281
Commons, 109, 110, 174, 176-178
Congress, Continental, at Princeton, 85-87
Costume and dressing, 202, 204
Cracker explosions, 130, 138
Curriculum, theory of, 291-292, 328, 330; trend toward science under Pres. Smith, 126; Leland's opinion, 311; poverty of, 192-193, 307; revisions, 46, 60, 87, 126, 225, 234, 272, 296, 297, 298-301, 303, 305, 307, 309-311, 313-318, 320-328.
Cuyler Hall, 365

D

Davies, Samuel, trip to England, 40; president, 53; influence, 57-59; odes, 172; regulations for degrees, 54; curriculum, 298
Dean's House, 347
Degree, Bachelor of architecture, 231, 242; divinity, 243; laws, 152; letters, 272, 326; science, 230
Degrees, Higher, 54, 231, 236-239, 257, 264-267
Democracy, 368, 370, 394
Departmental plan, 272, 327
Dickinson, Jonathan, 5; president, 14, 17, 23; entrance requirements, 292; curriculum, 296
Dickinson Hall, 231
Discipline, 45, 89, 106, 127, 129, 157, 171, 246, 288
"Divinity Hall," 113, 336
Dod Hall, 258, 363
Dodge Hall, 268
Dormitories, 231, 258, 268, 282, 361 ff.
Dramatics, 195-197, 247
Dressing-gowns, 204
Drinking, 189, 383
Duffield, John T., 222, 269

E

E. M. Museum, 241, 352
East College, 144, 339
Edwards, Jonathan, 24, 50-52
Edwards Hall, 232, 363
Elections, Class, 380
Electrical Engineering laboratory, 258
Electrical Engineering, School of, 255, 351
Endowment, 153, 157, 241, 282, 410
Engine house, 334
Entrance requirements, 54, 257, 270, 293-295, 312, 315, 318, 319, 328
Examinations, 180, 259, 293, 384

F

Faculty, 70, 83, 111, 114, 121, 143, 234, 268, 269, 283, 410
Faculty Room, 278
Fellowships, 228, 235, 239-241, 265, 276, 283, 285, 288, 367
Finances, 34, 72, 81, 105, 109, 141, 147, 153, 157, 241, 282-283, 411
Fine, Henry B., 284
Finley, Samuel, 5, 60; president, 65; curriculum, 60, 298
FitzRandolph, Nathaniel, 36, 278
Fourth of July, 197-199
Fraternities, 158, 244-245
Freshman rules, 167, 201

G

George II, portrait, 56
Golf clubhouse, 360
Gowns, 201
Graduate College, 267, 274, 276-277, 281, 283-284, 285, 286, 366
Graduate Council, 282
Graduate instruction, 235-237, 257, 264-267, 285
Graduate School, 265, 285
Graduates, eighteenth century, 182-187; nineteenth century, 217-219
Grammar school, 61, 80, 81, 82, 175
"Great Rebellion," 131, 170
Green, Ashbel, 83; president, 124, 127, 136; discipline, 106-109, 132-134; curriculum, 305
Green, Charles E., 260
Guyot Hall, 282, 351
Gymnasiums, 209, 229, 231, 359

H

Halsted Observatory, 232, 342, 359
Hamilton, John, 11, 12
Hamilton Hall, 364
Hart, J. S., 145
Henry, Bayard, 348
Henry, Joseph, 144-145, 149, 155, 193
Henry House, 340, 362
Hibben, John G., president, 285; inaugural, 291; curriculum, 328-331; advances under, 286
Holder Hall, 282, 364
Honor system, 259
Honors, Final special, 324, 329, 385
Horn spree, 200
"Horsing," 201, 373
Hosack, David, 132
Huntington, Countess of, 16

I

Indian students, 84, 93, 355
Infirmary, 258, 360

J

Johnston, Alexander, 269

K

Kargé, Joseph, 268

L

Laboratories, 104, 109, 110, 232, 258, 282, 349-354
Lafayette, Marquis of, 138

Law department, 140, 145, 149-150
Laws at Newark, 45; at Princeton, 165
Lawyers, Early Princeton, 184
"Lazy Corner," 205
Lectures, 192, 307
Libbey, William, 248, 264, 348
Libraries, 55, 105, 109, 114, 192, 231, 332, 337, 339, 347-349
Lindsly, Philip, 129, 137
Little Hall, 268, 363
Livermore, Samuel, 44, 46, 297
Lockwood, James, 52
Log College, 5, 6, 11, 15, 16
Lotteries, 61
Loyalists, Princeton, 185
Lyon, James, 172

M

McCosh, James, president, 224; inaugural, 226; influence, 221, 224, 246; and Witherspoon, 224; on evolution, 222; criticised, 233, 243; faculty, 234, 242; curriculum, 234, 313-318, 320-322; science, 230, 241; fellowships, 228, 235, 240; graduate instruction, 236; buildings, 231-232; discipline, 243-245; student organization, 247-248
McCosh Hall, 282, 360, 365
Maclean, John, professor of chemistry, 101
Maclean, John, Jr., tutor, 135; revives college, 142; policies, 148; president, 155; inaugural, 156; administration, 163; curriculum, 225, 309-311; discipline, 157, 163
Marquand Chapel, 232, 356
Medical department, 25, 133, 141, 143
Merwick, 277
Military companies, Revolution, 78; Civil War, 162; Spanish-American War, 264
Miller, Samuel, 116, 119
Modern languages, 298, 303, 306, 308
Morgan, Colonel George, 355
Morris, Governor, 11
Murray, James O., 250, 260, 269
Murray Hall, 231, 268
Museums, 114, 241, 338, 349, 350, 352, 353, 355
Music, 56, 172, 173, 382

N

Nassau Cadets, 162
Nassau Hall, 38, 39, 41, 44, 71, 78, 79, 82, 84, 105, 131, 157, 168, 169, 333, 345
Nassau Hall Philological Society, 139
Natural history, cabinet, 114; introduced, 101
Newark, Life at, 44-45

O

Observatories, 232
"Old Nassau," 173
Orrery, Rittenhouse's, 74

P

Packard, William A., 269
Palmer Physical Laboratory, 282, 350
"Paper Wars," 200
Patton, Francis L., president, 251; administration, 251-270; curriculum, 255, 323-324; buildings, 258
Patton, Robert B., 139
Patton Hall, 282, 365
Peking, Princeton work in, 248, 357
Pemberton, Ebenezer, 8
Philadelphian Society, 216, 357, 376
Physical education, 358
Poets, Revolutionary, 183
"Poler's Recess," 200
Political campaigns, 211
"Poor House," 110
Prayer-hall, 153, 278, 342
Preceptorial method, 273-276, 384
Princeton, location at, 22, 36-37; battle, 79
"Princeton House," 390
"Princeton Monographs in Art," 290
Princeton University Press, 290
Proclamations, 200
Procter gift, 283
Procter Hall, 363
Professors' houses, 336, 340
"Prospect," 84, 354
Psychological laboratory, 349
Publications, University, 290; student, 182, 247
Pyne, M. Taylor, 249, 348, 366
Pyne, Upper and Lower, 268
Pyne Library, 348

Q

Quad plan, 279
Qualifying students, 256

R

Rakes, 200
Rebellions, 115, 131, 170, 214
Refectory, 109, 110, 174, 176-178
Religious life, 212, 216, 247, 357; societies, 216, 247, 248, 357
Reunion Hall, 231, 362
Revivals of religion, 131, 212

Revolution, 75, 78, 81
Rice, John H., 137
Riot of 1800, 214; of 1807, 115
Rush, Freshman-sophomore, 376

S

St. Patrick's Day Parade, 395
St. Paul's Society, 248, 357
Schanck, John S., 269
Science, 89, 101, 104-105, 114-115, 126, 332, 336-338, 342-344, 349-354
Science, School of, 230, 231, 315-318, 321-322
Scribner, Charles, 290
Seminary, Princeton Theological, 120, 122-124
Senior council, 273
Seventy-nine Hall, 282, 365
Seventy-seven Hall, *see* Campbell Hall
Shields, Charles W., 29, 268
Shippen, Joseph, 44-46, 296-298
Singing, Senior, 396
Smith, Caleb, 18
Smith, Samuel S., professor, 81; president, 100; sciences, 101; ambition, 102-103; character, 125; buildings, 336; curriculum, 126, 303
Snowball fights, 381
Sophomore commencement, 200
Southern affiliation, 93-94, 160
Spanish-American War, 264
Special students, 256
Stafford Little lectures, 290
Stamp Act, 64, 65
Steward, 42, 43, 176
Stewart, John A., president *pro tem.*, 284
Student, Enrolment, 21, 80, 81, 82, 104, 109, 114, 135, 141, 148, 162, 283, 410; geographical distribution, 408
Students, burn New York letter, 75; wear American cloth, 76; burn tea, 76; manners, 193; costume, 202-205; organizations, 247; publications, 247; self-government, 273
"Studies," making, 88, 89
Sumptuary laws, 107, 117, 133
Sunday observance, 111, 203, 308
Surgeons, Revolutionary, 185
Swann bequest, 281
Synod of New York and Philadelphia, 67, 68
Synod of Philadelphia, 6, 8

T

Taverns, 137, 168, 170, 187, 189, 190, 196, 198, 383
"Tea-Party," Princeton, 76
Teachers, early Princeton, 184
Tennent, Gilbert, 9, 24, 40
Tennent, William, 5
Theological department, 64, 74, 110-112, 122-124
Thomson College, 277, 366
Trustees, charter of 1746, 14; charter of 1748, 27; addresses to governor, 62, 63; attitude toward Crown, 64, 75; and internal government, 120; alumni, 249, 269; composition of board, 286.
Tutors, duties, 112-113

U

University Field, 359
University Hall, 231
University idea, 29-30, 252, 253, 254
University Offices, 109
University, Organization of, 286-290

V

Vethake, Henry, 132, 135, 144

W

Washington, General, Peale portrait, 57; at Princeton, 85-86
Washington's Birthday, 153, 199, 386
West, Andrew F., 260, 265, 276
West College, 144, 339, 362
Whitefield, George, 10
Wilson, Woodrow, professor, 269; president, 270; inaugural, 271; administration, 282; curriculum, 272, 325-328; governor New Jersey, 284; President United States, 284
Witherspoon, John, president, 68, 71; politics, 72, 77; tours, 73; visits England, 82; influence in philosophy, 87; in education, 96; discipline, 89-91; pupils, 92; graduates, 95-99; lectures, 88; curriculum, 87, 299-301
Witherspoon Hall, 232, 362
Wyman bequest, 294

Y

Young, Charles A., 241, 269

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